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THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
STATE OF GEORGIA

From 1850 to 1881,

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EMBRACING THE

1850-1881

THREE IMPORTANT EPOCHS:

The Decade Before the War of 1861-5; The War;  
The Period of Reconstruction,

WITH

PORTRAITS OF THE LEADING PUBLIC MEN

OF THIS ERA.

BY I. W. AVERY.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

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more bitter than the one of bullets so recently ended. But it was all one-sided. There could be but one result. We were powerless; they implacable. Resistance did not convince, it only stimulated anger. Failing of effect, opposition invited increased exaction, and put amicable agreement out of the question in the savage temper of our adversaries and the unbridled force of our victors. Looking back to that burning day, and reviewing the perplexities of that emergency, there was no choice but between the two extremes, the acquiescence of Brown or the deathful hostility of Toombs. The one gave peace, the other wooed extermination. The situation presented no middle ground seemingly. But the medium line was pursued, and the writer was its advocate, and there came in due and inexorable sequence an additional installment of this hybrid reconstruction, more fantastic and harsh than ever.

During the year 1866 a good deal was done in practical State matters. Maj. Campbell Wallace was put in charge of the State road, and Col. Wm. M. Wadley made president of the Central railroad. Mr. T. W. Chichester borrowed \$400,000 in New York for Gov. Jenkins. Nearly \$200,000 was spent to buy corn for the poor of the State. Some \$3,630,000 of State bonds had been issued to repair the State road, pay past due coupons and bonds and buy corn, swelling our State debt from \$2,676,500 to \$5,840,000. Notwithstanding our desperate condition of poverty and ravage, our securities brought ninety cents on the dollar. And in spite of the fact that we were not regarded as a State, the general government levied upon the State as a State her quota of a direct tax levied on the Union, her part being \$584,067.33. There had been granted in the South by President Johnson 7,197 pardons up to the first of May, 1866, of which 1,228 were in Georgia. Judge Erskine had opened the Federal Court in Savannah on the 9th day of May, 1866, with Henry S. Fitch, a brilliant Indianian, as United States District Attorney. Judge William Law, who had practiced forty-nine years in that court, applied for admission and was refused because he could not take the test oath. Ex-Gov. Brown represented him in attacking the constitutionality of the law creating the test oath, and made a speech of great length and magnificent power and legal learning. Mr. Fitch made a reply of uncommon merit and eloquence. Judge Erskine ruled the oath unconstitutional and Judge Law was admitted. The Supreme Court of the United States afterwards declared the test oath unconstitutional.

Ex-Gov. Brown also was employed in an important case involving the





constitutionality of the State stay law, and made a speech of surpassing erudition and logic. The entire people were deeply interested in this absorbing question, and the case was looked to with profound intensity of feeling. He won his case, the supreme court deciding the law constitutional. Afterwards, when on the supreme bench as Chief-Justice, he ruled in favor of the constitutionality of this class of laws.

A system of county courts was created, the judges being elected by the people of each county, and holding office for four years without salary, but allowed fees. These were important courts, having jurisdiction of civil cases, except titles to land, and divorces, and criminal cases except those capital. The Freedmen's Bureau had an almost exclusive jurisdiction of negro affairs. It will ever remain one of the political curiosities of that unique time. The power in these petty Bureau officials was autocratic and sweeping. There was never in the world such a travesty of law. These agents decided titles to land, granted divorces, arrested and imprisoned for debt, made compulsory labor contracts for blacks who would not make them, and arbitrarily fixed the value of the services of laborers at from \$12 to \$15 a month with board and lodging, the laborer, however, to furnish his own clothing and medicine. There were so many outrages perpetrated by these agents, and the clamor was so great, that finally the heads of the Freedmen's Bureau were relieved in Georgia, the Carolinas and Alabama, and military officers were put in charge. It was this year that the planters began the suicidal farm policy they have so pertinaciously pursued ever since, and which has resulted in so much pecuniary embarrassment, of raising cotton to the exclusion of provision crops. The West became the corn crib and smoke-house of the South. Provisions were bought on time at enormous usury, and cotton raised at a loss, and thus the planters became more involved every year. There was a cotton craze, that for a while seemed incurable.

Among the tender and touching things done by the General Assembly was the appropriation of \$5,000 to the Ladies' Memorial Association, under the lead of Mrs. Charles J. Williams of Columbus, and Miss Mary A. Green of Resaca, to gather together our soldier dead scattered about and properly mark their graves. Some exquisite speeches were made in the Legislature by several of the members, among them, Hon. James M. Russell, Col. R. J. Moses, Col. Claiborne Snead and J. A. Glenn. This Legislature also granted state-aid to the Macon and Brunswick railroad, after a very animated struggle. Ex-Gov. H. V. Johnson





was re-elected United States Senator. In 1866, J. W. Clift and C. H. Prince qualified as members of Congress.

Both during 1865 and 1866 there was considerable agitation of the subject of emigration to Mexico and Brazil, and quite a number foolishly expatriated themselves. There was a small colony in Mexico, among whom were Generals Magruder, Hindman and Price and ex-Gov. Harris of Tennessee. But Gen. Lee advised against it, and the good sense of our people condemned such expatriation. And finally the exiles themselves returned, after a bitter experience of hardship in foreign lands. It was the brave thing to stand to our dear land in her adversity, and raise her from her sad ashes. Amid all the obstacles and distractions, the drawbacks and disturbances, there had been a little progress in prosperity. Our people had gone to work bravely. Our cities, especially, had picked up somewhat. Our railroads had been rebuilt, our farms restored in some degree. But the Radical policy had hindered rehabilitation, creating distrust and engendering discouragement. Our agricultural labor, the basis of prosperity, was unsettled and in an indescribable condition of demoralization. Adventurers had come in to control this ignorant class, and poison them against their old masters. There was a brooding sense of calamity in the State, and the outlook was gloomy enough.

In this nebulous state of darkness the Radical element in Congress, relentlessly pursuing the strife with President Johnson, and imagining the interest of their party to lie in a truculent increase of severity, passed a measure offered by Mr. Sherman, tendering back the same Constitutional amendment that had been rejected, with negro suffrage added. The other gentle features of this grim Sherman bill were simply the transformation of our state government into a Provisional concern, handicapped with a bayonet absolutism, and subject to the imperial caprice of an acrid Congress. Truly it would have been a marvel of ingenuity that could have conceived a more incongruous abortion of politico-military polity than this. What a commentary it was, too, on the rancorous and unreasoning popular sentiment backing it at the North, that sturdy, stern old Reverdy Johnson, true and courageous friend of the South in Congress, who had fought a generous battle for us, sadly voted for this bill as the best he could get, and the kindest measure possible. This was reconstruction with a vengeance. Andrew Johnson gamely vetoed it in words of grand force and eloquence. But the constitutional majority, inspired by public opinion,



brushed out his ineffectual yet unanswerable protest, and fastened the iron enactment upon the quivering and helpless South.

It was an amazing piece of statesmanship to disfranchise our intelligence and make the hereditary slaves of two centuries rulers of our political destiny. It degraded, alarmed and exasperated our people. We had the whole argument of the case on our side. They had the might. Our reconstructors had excelled themselves in this last fantastic of national restoration. Our people were angered to white heat, and they entered upon an uncompromising fight against the astounding project. In this crisis ex-Gov. Brown, with that cool method that distinguished him, went North to look into the matter, and see just how earnest the North was, and what hope there was of resistance to these most odious measures. He had taken ground as a matter of choice against these wrongs. He was powerless, as were his people, to successfully oppose any measures that were inevitable. And he resolved to ascertain just what was necessary to do to restore the state to the control of his state-countrymen. Judge Dawson A. Walker accompanied him. These gentlemen went to Washington early in February, 1867, while the Reconstruction measures were pending, and thoroughly gauged public sentiment upon reconstruction. Gov. Brown probed the subject to the bottom. He conversed with the most influential men upon both sides. From President Johnson down he conferred with leaders of every shade of opinion. The impeachment crusade against President Johnson had begun. Against the Sherman bill he had fired a noble but ineffectual veto, and on the last day of the old Congress it went through. The new Congress passed the supplemental reconstruction bill providing for a registration of loyal voters, the calling of a convention by the vote of the people, and the ratification of the constitution made by such convention by a popular vote, all under military guidance. Mr. Johnson struck this measure with another spirited veto, but it was promptly passed, and the revengeful malignancy of impeachment gathered fresh force from the incident.

It was a gloomy state of things when the very constitutional exercise of official prerogative upon the line of constitutional right in our favor evoked so vengeful a spirit. Gov. Brown satisfied himself that these terms, hard and galling as they were, must be taken, just as they were taken, and he came home and advised their acceptance by the people. Impartially scrutinizing that act of advice, with the passions of the hour cooled, and in the light of final results, it must be confessed that Gov. Brown's course was practical, politic and inspired by his convic-





tions of duty. A letter was addressed to him on the 22d of February, 1867, by Ira R. Foster, James F. Alexander, A. R. Reagan, John Collier, L. C. Wells, P. Pease, W. R. Venable, D. F. Hammond, P. L. Wynatt, A. K. Seago, R. P. Zimmerman, L. S. Salmons, William Herring, E. E. Rawson, J. A. Hayden, Joseph Thompson, E. P. Watkins, J. J. Thrasher, T. W. J. Hill and E. Hulburt, asking his judgment as to what course should be pursued by the people of Georgia in the existing crisis.

He answered, and it was the most fateful letter of his life. It has been burned into the history of the country, and it scorched his career for dreary years. He was too sagacious a judge of public opinion, not to foresee that it would elicit a large measure of unpopularity. He showed it to some close friends, and with an accurate prevision of its effect and of the public feeling, he said: "In the present excited state of the popular mind, the chances are that bold leaders will inflame their passions and prejudices, and they will reject the terms proposed, and have to suffer the consequences. And in that case, from having been for years one of the most popular men in Georgia, I shall become for a time the most unpopular from the Potomac to the Rio Grande." The gentlemen in whom he confided his views concurred with him fully, and begged him to withhold the letter, and not immolate himself. They urged that he was out of public office, and therefore was under no obligation to give advice that would impair his popularity. Gov. Brown's reply was to this effect: "I am indebted to the people of Georgia for all that I am as a public man, and I have made up my mind to *tell them the truth*, and warn them of their danger, be the consequences what they may to me as an individual."

To estimate the full effect of this letter, Gov. Brown's position among the people must be understood. For eight long and momentous years he had been the civil autocrat of Georgia, and in a continuous series of heated conflicts he had clutched popular endorsement with an irresistible power. He was by long odds the most potential and idolized public man in the State, seemingly impregnable among the masses. Such a revulsion has rarely been witnessed. The popular idol at one stroke was hurled to the ground, and upon him raged a pitiless storm of vindictive execration. The mutterings of the thunder and the play of the lightning began at once on his devoted head. The man who stands before the prejudices of a people has a fearful task before him. But when, as in this case, he confronts not only their prejudices, but their convictions and their memories, the doom of an overwhelming odium is his certain fate.



The perusal of Gov. Brown's letter at this long distance from that volcanic day, even by one who, like the writer, shared in the fever that fired the Southern heart then, shows it to be a singularly argumentative, dispassionate, forcible document, calm-tempered, logical, and driving his cool conclusions home with ponderous emphasis. The Sherman bill had not even passed when he wrote, but he predicted its passage. He discussed the relative condition of political parties at the North, he stated the exact realities of the situation, and he advised a prompt, full acceptance of the conditions imposed upon us, as we could offer no further resistance, and every delay but increased the severity of the terms offered. There was this strong evidence of disinterested sincerity in his advice, that he was not a candidate for any office, nor seeking any personal benefit; and in addition to this, he was among those disfranchised by the very bill to whose hard stipulations he counseled obedience. Later, Mr. Sherman, the author of the bill, introduced a measure in Congress for Gov. Brown's relief, and this fact was used against the latter as an evidence of some collusion; but it was not only not a part of an understanding, and wholly unprompted by him, but it was a natural outcome of Gov. Brown's attitude, and was probably intended to show that the road to certain reconstruction was the path of submission.

Another burdensome feature of this unpopular position of Gov. Brown, was that it threw him into frightful, personal, and political associations. Home men of no character, unanimated by his patriotism, and disinterested sense of public duty, and seeing in the cruel crisis the chance for place or plunder, joined the reconstruction movement, and such accessions imparted odium to him. The Federal army left among us a host of adventurers, and our helpless condition invited a horde from the North, who naturally sought the protection of the government and the security of Radicalism, in their schemes of personal advancement, whose main props were the unscrupulous and ingenious manipulation of the deluded African, the supporting tyranny of the soldier, and the proscription of the good whites. To these some felicitous word-user gave the memorable name of "carpet-bagger." The North and the West have given to the South a large element of noble and precious manhood,—social and business strains of virtuous and enterprising blood, and no citizens stand better, or rank higher. And such superb accretions of citizenship, are always welcome and cherished. But the reconstruction carpet-bagger was none of these. Hon. Thomas Norwood has made a clever sketch of this wonderful creature. Said he:





"His like the world has never seen from the days of Cain, or of the forty thieves in the fabled time of Ali Baba. Like the wind he blows, and we hear the sound thereof, but no man knoweth whence he cometh, or whither he goeth. National historians will be in doubt how to class him. Ornithologists will claim him, because in many respects he is a bird of prey. He lives only on corruption, and takes his flight as soon as the carcass is picked. . . . He is no product of the war. He is 'the canker of a calm world,' and of a peace which is despotism enforced by bayonets. His valor is discretion; his industry, perpetual strife, and his eloquence 'the parcel of a reckoning' of chances, as he smells out a path which may lead from the White House to a custom house, a post office, the internal revenue bureaus, or perchance to either wing of the Federal capitol. His shibboleth is 'the Republican party.' From that party he sprung as naturally as maggots from putrefaction. . . . Wherever two or three, or more negroes are gathered together, he like a leprous spot is seen, and his cry, like the daughter of the horse-leech, is always, 'give—give—me office!' Without office he is nothing; with office he is a pest and public nuisance. Out of office he is a beggar; in office he grows rich till his eyes stick out with fatness. Out of office he is, hat in hand, the outside ornament of every negro's cabin, a plantation loafer, and the nation's lazarene; in office he is an adept in 'addition, division and silence.' Out of office he is the orphan ward of the administration and the general sign-post of penury; in office he is the complaining suppliant for social equality with Southern gentlemen."

No record of these unique days is complete without some description of this remarkable character, that flourished in that congenial era with the luxuriance of the "green bay tree." They flocked into the cohorts of reconstruction, and shed by their unwelcome and irrepressible affiliation an ignoble discredit upon the honest and patriotic supporters, like Gov. Brown, of a public policy condemned in principle, but assented to as a matter of force in the choice of evils. A meeting was called in Atlanta, and the split began immediately. The meeting divided. Gov. Brown made a strong, clear talk, but it did not heal the breach. Resolutions for and against reconstruction were passed by the sundered halves of the gathering. A meeting was called in Dalton, and after a warm discussion, in which the writer opposed the Brown policy, Judge Walker was endorsed on the Brown line by a majority of four votes.

Gov. Jenkins went on to Washington and instituted proceedings to test the constitutionality of the Sherman bill. His lawyers were Jeremiah S. Black, Robert J. Brent, Edgar Cowan and Charles O'Connor. This was a great proceeding, that involved the existence of a state government of a million of people, and hundreds of millions of property. The legal form used was a bill reciting by a quaint anomaly, the attempt and failure of the state to secede, and her fixed status in the Union under the very philosophy of such failure and as shown by the very act of the United States government submitting constitutional amendments to her for ratification or rejection. The bill urged that the Sherman bill



and supplement were unconstitutional, and asked that Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Ulysses S. Grant, General of the army, and John Pope, General commanding Georgia, be enjoined from enforcing the Sherman bill in Georgia and come into court to answer. Gov. Jenkins issued, on the 10th of April, 1867, an address, from Washington city to the people of Georgia, advising "a firm but temperate refusal of acquiescence in an adoption of the Sherman bill, and a patient, manly endurance of military government, until, in the efflux of time, and on the subsidence of the passions generated by civil war, better counsels shall prevail at the Federal capital—we, meantime, strictly observing law and order, and vigorously addressing ourselves to industrial pursuits." The alternative of this course was prompt acquiescence in the demands of Congress, which he counseled against until at least the result of the great case in the United States Supreme Court was had. He concluded this dignified and important document with these grave words, which powerfully indicate his deep sense of responsibility:

"Should we fail (as fail we may) there will remain nothing that I can do for you. Your destiny will be in your own hands, and you must choose between the alternative first presented. In making that choice, you have my counsel, perhaps erroneous but certainly *honest*.

It was a peculiarly suggestive and interesting spectacle presented in the antipodal attitude of these two distinguished Georgians, Gov. Jenkins and ex-Gov. Brown, in reference to this tremendous question of the vitality of a great sovereign State. Both were men of unusual brain power, both of uncommon firmness, both of undoubted personal integrity and truth, both acknowledged statesmen and patriots, and both with the stimulus of an established fame and an exceptional popularity to inspire them. And here they stood in absolute conflict of counsel to their people under all the great burden of their sacred reputations, the fruit of long and crucial years of illustrious public service. It was a dramatic antithesis of momentous advice. It was an opposition of formidable powers over a gigantic issue. Gov. Jenkins was robed in official authority. Ex-Gov. Brown was but a simple citizen, yet exalted by the prestige of his recent and unprecedented Executive fame and achievements. There were many deep-hued accessories of this picture. In the stormy days of war Gov. Brown had been the exponent of its clashing turbulence, and Judge Jenkins on the Supreme Bench had placidly administered the civil law, the calm symbol of peace amid the red thunder of strife. Now when the cannon were irrevocably hushed, and the current of blood had ceased beyond hope for the vanquished,





the unyielding battler stood in the fullest concession to the compact of surrender, working for the speedy and practical restoration of the State's lost sovereignty and the people's crushed welfare, while the severe jurist sturdily contended in a spirit equally patriotic against the same concession, even to the certain prolongation of a subjugated condition. It was a remarkable reversion of attitudes. And following out the striking antithesis, the course of Jenkins led through the reverential approbation of his own people to his deposition and their further political crucifixion, while the course of Brown steered through unmeasured and unparalleled obloquy for himself, resulted in the ultimate redemption of the commonwealth and the regeneration of her government.

Both of these gentlemen have since then received unusual marks of popular confidence and favor, and now enjoy an enviable affluence of public esteem. Gov. Jenkins, in his ripe old age, has retired from public life, honored and revered, his active years passed away for all time. Gov. Brown, as a United States Senator, in the very maturity of his great powers, is exercising a marked and beneficial influence in controlling and molding the destinies of this gigantic nation. He is nobly representing that very Georgia that once so execrated him for his devotion to her interest. The matter illustrates the great fact that, however obscured and hidden, the truth will ultimately prevail. And it is of infinitely more concern to men that they should be sincere and honest-purposed than that they should be either wise or correct. Gov. Jenkins failed in his line, yet in spite of its probably protracting the State's rehabilitation, its inspiration was so noble that his countrymen held him in even higher esteem. Gov. Brown's course led to restoration, and the very ordeal of unpopularity that his unwelcome but sagacious counsel created, evincing his firm nerve in a disagreeable duty, will but enhance the final valuation of his sacrifices and sufferings.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

### A THROBBING CHAPTER OF RECONSTRUCTION HARLE- QUINADE ENDING WITH GOV. JENKINS' REMOVAL.

The Georgia Bill.—Gov. Brown's Sagacity.—The Bill Dismissed.—Gen. Pope and Gov. Jenkins.—The Storm upon Joe Brown.—Alec Stephens.—Gen. Toombs.—H. V. Johnson.—B. H. Hill.—Brown and Hill in a Stern Controversy.—Brown's Iron Resolution Fearfully Tested.—Gen. Pope's Curious Letter.—Judge J. W. H. Underwood.—Judge I. L. Harris.—Judge Hiram Warner.—The Drift of Personal Government to Absolutism.—Judge A. Reese removed.—E. Hulburt.—The Democratic Convention at Macon.—Fight over Resolutions.—A Crisis in the Democratic party.—The Reconstruction Constitutional Convention of 1868.—Its Personelle.—Colored Delegates.—The Detested Symbol of Conquest and Odious Change.—The Proscription of Reconstructionists.—Ludicrous Incident.—Gov. Brown's Strong Influence for Good.—His Position.—Gen. Pope calls on Gov. Jenkins for Money.—Gov. Jenkins' Refusal.—Gen. Meade Succeeds Gen. Pope.—Gen. Meade Re-applies to Gov. Jenkins.—Gov. Jenkins Declines.—His Flavorous Sarcasm.—Gen. Meade Removes Gov. Jenkins, and details Gen. Ruger as Governor.—Soldierly Moderation under Unlimited Despotism.—Gen. Hancock.

BEFORE the bill was filed for Gov. Jenkins in the Supreme Court of the United States to test the constitutionality of the Sherman act, a similar bill was filed by Gov. Sharkey of Mississippi, but it was dismissed for its severe terms. It was a notable continuation of Georgia's foremost place in every phase of the war, that she should stand in the period following its close, as the pivot of reconstruction. Her destiny as the regnant factor of the revolution seemed unavoidable. The attention of the country was focalized upon the brave state and its characteristic effort, in the highest legal tribunal of the land, to resist degradation. But her attempt was unavailing. It was ably argued. Mr. Stanberry, the Attorney General of the United States, opened and concluded the argument for the government, and Mr. O'Connor, for Georgia, and Mr. Walker, for Mississippi, made masterly addresses. The case was dismissed, and the ruthless crusade of Reconstruction continued, the stronger and harsher for the futile spurt of impediment.

It was a striking instance of Gov. Brown's sagacity that he opposed the action of Gov. Jenkins in filing the bill for Georgia and predicted its failure on the very ground upon which it was dismissed, that it involved political questions over which the Congress and President were





the arbiters and not the court. The defeat in the Supreme Court left the South remediless. Gen. Pope wrote to Gov. Jenkins, asking him if he had seen his order prohibiting any attempt of officials to influence the people on reconstruction before he issued his address advising them against accepting the Sherman bill. Gov. Jenkins replied that he had not seen it, but that he should in the future do and say whatever his oath required of him. Gen. Pope replied that State officers would not be allowed to denounce the act of Congress under which he was acting.

The press poured hot shot into Gov. Brown. He was the subject of a torrent of vituperation. Denunciations streamed upon him as "traitor," "betrayer of the honor and interest of his State," "unduly frightened," "weak-kneed," "desired to save his neck," "currying favor with the Radicals," and a volley of such abuse. He was accustomed to spirited hitting from his enemies. But such rasping censure from friends came hard. Gov. Brown, however, met it gamely. He stood resolutely to his disagreeable views, and he made strong, even-tempered speeches in the leading cities of the State, urging the people to acceptance of the terms of Congress. It was a complete separation from his old allies—an acrid divergence of political course. Mr. Stephens was silent, Gen. Toombs had returned home from Europe in March and wrote a letter to Mr. M. C. Corry, Corresponding Secretary of the Democratic Central Committee at Cincinnati, declaring his readiness to establish the right of secession. Ex-Gov. H. V. Johnson wrote a letter in July, 1867, urging registration but advising against acceptance of the terms proposed. His advice was "never to embrace their despotism," and to hope for a reaction in the North and West against the overthrow of constitutional liberty. Hon. B. H. Hill made a speech in Atlanta in July of this year, in which he denounced the reconstruction measures with unsurpassable and flaming eloquence; and he followed it up later with a series of "notes on the situation" on the same line, that for magnificent invective equal anything in ancient or modern annals. There is no doubt that Mr. Hill was the undisputed leader in this savage anti-reconstruction campaign.

In his Notes on the Situation he attacked Gov. Brown, and that indomitable fighter came back with an unsheathed sword. The conflict was a famous one. They were two ripe controversialists, mental Titans, and the theme was big enough for any minds. They had met in the gubernatorial race ten years back, when Brown was untried and yet had won the Executive guerdon. They were at it again in the fiercest era of the century, representing implacably hostile forces and theories



vengefully inimical. Hill had the public pulse on his side. Brown was breasting an overwhelming popular sentiment. Hill rode a very flood tide of the people's endorsement. Brown fought, crowded down with public odium. The agitation gained intensity and bitterness as it progressed. It became more venomous every day. Northern adventurers thronged into the State and began their operations upon the credulous blacks, poisoning their minds, working on their cupidity, and inciting them to hatred of the whites. It was a frightful time. The war was more bearable and peaceful. The robust delusion of "forty acres and a mule," and other impracticable schemes of spontaneous profit, were used freely upon the bewildered colored people with wonderful success. These rosy fictions were swallowed eagerly without a suggestion of disbelief. The people hotly resented this invasion of the Vandals; and in the abhorrence of a moral pestilence, the sincere, honest advisers of the acceptance of reconstruction, as the best that could be done in our desperate stress, were pilloried in public scorn.

It was a dreadful alternative for a proud man like Gov. Brown to be exposed to, either to adhere to his convictions of public duty under an appalling ordeal of popular hatred, and under alliance with men he contemned, or cravenly yield to a tornado of public passion that he could not control, and whose policy he condemned. But there was no giving up in Gov. Brown's iron composition. As the hail of public indignation pelted upon him with an accumulating force, he with set lips and a grim defiance confronted the hurricane and defied its fury. He never faltered in his chosen course. It was proscription, fell and remorseless, that he fought—proscription, social and political. Some idea of the burning fever of the time may be gleaned from some of Mr. Hill's white-heated invectives: "Hellish dynasty," "On, on with your work of ruin, ye hell-born rioters in sacred things!" "Perjured assassins of liberty, blasphemous conclave of a Congress," and a host of such expressions testified alike to the violence of the epoch and the abusive capacity of the orator.

These letters and speeches of Mr. Hill, Gov. Johnson and others, were made the text of a lengthy and right curious letter by Gen. Pope to Gen. Grant on the subject of reconstruction. It made the strong expressions and stern spirit of those utterances a justification of the disfranchisement of their authors, but at the same time it urged perfect freedom of speech and the press. It candidly owned that some of the reconstructionists were as bitter and proscriptive as the "reactionary anti-reconstructionists," as he called them. It further said that if the





colored people progressed as rapidly as they had done, "five years will have transferred intelligence and education, so far as the masses are concerned," to them.

Judge J. W. H. Underwood and Judge Iverson L. Harris wrote letters in response to some gentlemen asking their opinion, in which they advised the people to register and vote for a convention. Judge Hiram Warner counseled the acceptance of the terms, saying, "It would be a useless waste of time to discuss political principles or constitutional rights for any practical purpose." The division of opinion was very marked, and views were extremely varied. As a general thing in North Georgia, in the white belt, a majority favored accepting reconstruction simply as a choice of evils. A large number of men were for non-action. In the negro belt the whites were solid against the measures to the last.

The steady drift of a personal government, unrestrained by fixed law, is to despotism. The arbitrary exercise of authority is simply inevitable. The South, under the rule of the Brigadier Generals in this year of 1867, illustrated this tendency. Gen. Pope began well, but he soon drove into autocratic grooves. His orders show a swift growth of absolutism. Men who displeased him were removed upon pretexts and, perhaps, considerable provocation. First, mayors of cities were both removed and appointed. Foster Blodgett was appointed mayor of Augusta, Capt. Joe Blance, solicitor general of the Tallapoosa circuit, and Col. Albert Lamar, solicitor general of the Muscogee circuit, were removed. Sheriffs were displaced. A man charged with homicide, in Bartow county, and acquitted, was re-arrested and ironed. The State university at Athens was closed because a student made a speech objectionable to Gen. Pope, and it was then re-opened, with the condition expressed, that the press of the State should say nothing of the affair, but the appropriation was withheld for a while. The student was Albert H. Cox, a brilliant young man, and a member of the last General Assembly. His speech was upon "The Vital Principle of Nations—Obedience to Organic Law." A copy of the speech was sent to Gen. Pope for him to critically examine. And when the college term was resumed, Mr. Cox offered to retire from the institution if it was deemed necessary to pacify the military monarch of our destinies. This was not required. Men were prevented from sitting as jurors who had not registered. Military officers were relieved from all civil process.

Judge Augustus Reese, of the Ocmulgee Judicial Circuit, declined to obey the order that unregistered voters should not act as jurors, and he was prohibited from exercising the duties of his office, after refusing to



resign. This able and courageous jurist was warmly regarded for this action.

September 19th, 1867, Gen. Pope ordered an election to be held on the 29th, 30th and 31st of October, for a convention, and for delegates to the convention. The superintendent of registration was Col. E. Hulburt, who had been Superintendent of the Express company, an uncommon individual. Cool, adroit, managing, energetic, bold, personally very clever, Hulburt was a marked character, and the most useful instrument Gen. Pope had. A large powerful man, prompt, decisive, with superior administrative ability, he handled the problem of registration with unvarying success, for any measure he championed. He had large ideas, and a proportionate executive capacity, and he played a vital part in this complicated drama of reconstruction. The registered voters numbered, according to Col. Hulburt, 188,647. The election continued three days, and then was protracted two days longer. A convenient order, issued at the proper time, allowed men to vote in other counties than where they registered, upon their own oaths that they were entitled to vote. How far the repetition of votes was done under this ambulatory method will never be known. There were 106,410 votes polled on the question of convention, and 102,283 in favor of it, thousands of voters who had registered, abstaining from the polls under the suicidal non-action policy.

The Democrats called a state convention to meet at Macon, on the 5th day of December, 1867, to consult on the situation. This was the first political state convention held since the surrender. There were delegates from sixty counties. Benjamin H. Hill was elected president. The convention was very stormy, and came near being broken up. Among the delegates were Thomas Hardeman, Gen. A. R. Wright, C. A. Nutting, T. G. Holt, L. N. Whittle, W. S. Holt, A. W. Reese, W. T. Thompson, G. A. Mercer, William M. Browne, W. F. Wright, J. C. Nisbet, R. A. Alston, M. A. Candler, Nelson Tift, Augustus R. Wright, M. Dwinell, W. G. Northern, G. F. Pierce, Jr., Eli Warren, C. C. Duncan, J. W. Preston, J. H. Blount, D. E. Butler, P. W. Alexander, Thomas W. Grimes, C. C. Kibbee, Herbert Fielder, C. W. Hancock, T. M. Furlow, C. T. Goode, C. H. C. Willingham, E. H. Pottle, I. W. Avery and W. K. Kiddoo. There was a very small representation from North Georgia, only seven counties North of the Chattahoochee, having delegates.

The two main points of difference were the non-action policy and a resolution denouncing advocates of reconstruction as criminals. These





were both measures of Mr. Hill, and were warmly discussed. The question of non-action was referred finally, to the State Executive Committee. Mr. Hill pressed the resolution in regard to reconstructionists upon the platform committee, who rejected it. Nothing daunted, Mr. Hill offered it as an amendment to the report of the committee in the convention, supporting it splendidly. At this juncture, Col. I. W. Avery, the delegate from Whitfield, having vainly urged Judge Wright, of Rome, to present the reasons for opposing the resolution, who declared it useless to confront the current, took the floor against it, urging that in the white belt, fully 25,000 white Democrats had supported reconstruction as the best thing they could do, and to denounce these sincere and patriotic men as criminals would drive them from the party. Gen. A. R. Wright, Col. Thomas Hardeman, L. N. Whittle and others supported this view. Mr. Hill still pressed his resolution with an evidently large support. The matter was re-committed and additional committeemen appointed. The original committee was: George A. Mercer, C. B. Richardson, Gen. Phil Cook, T. M. Furlow, P. W. Alexander, C. H. C. Willingham, Thomas Hardeman, Jr., D. G. Hughes, D. E. Butler, E. H. Pottle, J. Graham, W. W. McLester, L. J. Glenn, and J. A. Stewart. The added committeemen were W. T. Thompson, T. L. Guerry, J. A. L. Lee, T. G. Holt, A. R. Wright of Richmond, I. W. Avery and J. P. Hambleton.

The committee reported the resolution of Mr. Hill, and the battle over it in the convention was resumed with a lively animation and determined earnestness. The *Macon Telegraph*, in its report of the discussion, stated the opposition to the resolution in these words:

"The gallant young delegate from Whitfield, Col. Avery, fought manfully for the people of his section on this point. He was opposed to their views, but knew that they were honestly entertained, and would never consent to denounce them as traitors or criminals. He believed they were wrong, but preferred to show them their error, and persuade them to abandon it."

Finally, Col. Avery stated that he was so thoroughly convinced of the impolicy of the resolution, and its peril to the party in estranging North Georgia, that if it passed, he should feel it his painful duty to withdraw from the convention, as much as he should dislike to break its harmony. Upon this declaration, the question was asked whether the resolution would be acceptable if it was amended so as to denounce *the crime* of reconstruction, and say nothing of its supporters. This change being satisfactory, the resolution was thus amended and unanimously adopted. Had the resolution, as originally offered, have been



passed, as the solemn action of this convention, it would have split the party asunder in a bitter antagonism. It was a curious coincidence that the preamble and resolutions adopted by the convention were the resolutions (with some additions) written by Col. Avery, and passed at the county meeting in Whitfield county, to select delegates to the convention, and read thus:

"Manly protest against bad public policy is the duty, as well as the right, of all true patriots. And this, without factious opposition to government, or untimely interruption of public harmony. The season for honest discussion of principles, and for lawful opposition to existing abuses and their growth, is ever present and pressing."

"The Southern people are true to constitutional liberty, and ready to acquiesce in any policy looking to the honor and good of the whole country, and securing the rights of all classes of people.

"We regard the efforts of the present ruling power to change the fundamental institutions of the United States government as false in principle, impolitic in action, injurious in result, unjust and detrimental to the general government.

"Silence under wrong may be construed as endorsement. Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves to sustain law and order, to support cheerfully all constitutional measures of the United States government, and to recognize the rights of all classes of people under enlightened and liberal laws."

To these were added by the Convention resolutions protesting against the reconstruction measures. H. V. Johnson, A. H. Chappell, B. H. Hill, Warren Akin and T. L. Guerry were appointed to issue an address to the people. Gov. Johnson wrote the address, which was a very able one and appealed for a united effort to restore constitutional government.

The reconstruction Convention met in Atlanta, on the 9th day of December, 1867. It consisted of 170 delegates. The majority of them were unknown names. Gov. Brown had advised the people to take part, and send their best men. The mistaken non-action policy had been followed in many parts of the state. A gallant attempt had been made in many sections, however, in conformity with the counsel of Gov. Brown, and there was quite a liberal sprinkling of good and true Democrats. Among this class were H. V. M. Miller, David Irwin, A. W. Holcombe, L. N. Trammell, S. E. Field, and J. D. Waddell. There was another class of men who were pronounced Republicans, who were sincere in their politics and enjoyed personal esteem. In this class were H. K. McCay, T. P. Saffold, Benjamin Conley, R. B. Bullock, D. G. Cotting, A. T. Akerman, Madison Bell, N. L. Angier, J. L. Dunning, J. H. Flynn, H. G. Cole, J. R. Farrott, and A. G. Foster. There were others who have been prominent in the republican party: A. L. Harris, R. H. Whitely, Foster Blodgett, J. E. Bryant, J. Atkins, C. H. Prince,



T. J. Speer, H. M. Turner, G. W. Ashburn, Tunis Campbell, A. A. Bradley, N. P. Hotchkiss, G. P. Barnett, M. H. Bentley, Isaac Seely, C. H. Hopkins, W. L. Clift, Samuel Gove, J. Sherman, and J. S. Bigby, whose names have become very familiar to the people of Georgia in the years since, in the political conflicts that have transpired.

The convention was a new and odious body to the people. The old leaders were nearly unanimously disfranchised. Here was an organization, incarnating the idea of force and conquest, based upon negro supremacy and white disfranchisement, and with fully one-sixth of its number colored delegates, in sudden shock of every prejudice and conviction, and thus a fresh set of obscure men hoisted by abhorred means to the leadership of the State. It was a spectacle that intensified the thrilling bitterness of the time. In the course of years we have become accustomed to the sight of colored legislators, but in that day it was a trying experience and it stirred men's resentments implacably. To the State, it seemed as if a menagerie had been ransacked for its stock of puppets and harlequins and the mongrel culling converted into the travesty of a convention, to arrange the liberties and remodel the crushed sovereignty of a great commonwealth. And the body, symbolizing conquest, hatred and ignominy, bore the seeming sacred *imprimatur* of the public suffrage. Little wonder that the people spit upon, and reviled it with a double-dyed loathing. And it was a terrible injustice, something like hanging an innocent man for a murder, to involve in the unsparing odium of the era, pure and patriotic men who conscientiously believed in the necessity of conforming to the situation as the best thing obtainable, pitiable poor as that was, for the loved ones and the country. Men who favored reconstruction that day, no matter what their motive, were visited with a blind full-bodied damnation, both social and political, that was worse than death. And many a man who would have favored reconstruction was driven in terror from it by the proscription.

Of the new men put forward, R. B. Bullock became afterwards Governor, Benjamin Conley President of the Senate, J. E. Bryant Representative and a noted leader of the colored men, Foster Blodgett Superintendent of the State Road, R. H. Whitely, Samuel Gove, and T. J. Speer, Congressmen, J. R. Parrott, Judge, H. K. McCay, Judge of the Supreme Court, D. G. Cotting Secretary of State, A. T. Akerman, Attorney General in Grant's Cabinet, Madison Bell, Comptroller General, and N. L. Angier Treasurer.

J. R. Parrott was elected President of the Convention. A ludicrous incident occurred in the election of President that created much deris-





ion. When the name of H. H. Christian, a white delegate, was called, he was absent, and a black negro voted in his place, which made much excitement. Upon being questioned he said his name was "Jones," and he had been sent to vote for Mr. Christian, who was absent, and he was dismissed from the hall amid shouts of laughter. The incident illustrates the colored man's crude conception of his privileges. The convention was in session until the 11th day of March, 1868, taking a recess from December 24, 1867, to January 8, 1868. The Constitution that was created was a very excellent one, containing many valuable new features. Gov. Brown threw his whole influence in giving a conservative direction to the legislation of the convention. Had his counsel have been followed there would have been a much larger representation of able and representative men. But still, with the few right men in the convention, and with Gov. Brown's potential guidance of the Republican element in safe grooves, the general line of procedure was kept well guarded and just. It was a fortunate thing in many respects for the public interests that a person like Gov. Brown was aligned with the reconstructionists. Whatever of harm that was done, he nor any one could prevent, and all that was possible of prevention, he checked.

Retrospecting dispassionately, we can see how our righteous passion injured us, increased our difficulties, retarded our restoration, and created new and harder terms. Popular fury is a very ruthless tyrant, and none more so than a just and natural fury. It can seek and find justification in its justice. We were very badly treated, and our wrongs involved the cause of law and liberty. Yet the position of Gov. Brown was very logical. "This is all true. It is very bad. But how can you help yourself? With a half million of armed men you were powerless to remedy smaller ills than these. What can you do now, conquered and tied, except by contumacy to invite superadded harshness? You had lighter terms. You rejected them and got heavier ones. If you take these, as you cannot help doing, you will regain your freedom. If you reject them, you will have still harder terms to take. It is not a matter of right, it is a question of force, and you had better yield to it at once, and remove its tyranny." But a gallant people would not see it, and the hopeless battle continued, and the cloud upon Gov. Brown grew blacker and more vital with storm.

During the deliberations of the convention two important changes were made, powerfully affecting the public weal, and illustrating with a sweeping emphasis the capricious and tyrannical tenor of our rule.



Gen. Pope was, by order bearing date December 28th, 1867, relieved of the command of our military district, including Georgia, and Maj. Gen. George W. Meade put in his stead as the arbiter of our political destinies. The convention needed money for its expenses, and passed an ordinance directing the Treasurer of the State to pay \$40,000 to N. L. Angier, the disbursing officer of the convention, for this purpose. It was a comical travesty of civil government and of the genius of our republican institutions, that here was an august convention of the people, the highest delegated agent of popular sovereignty, and yet every edict it made was formally promulgated and enforced by military order. Was it not an unutterable caricature upon civil liberty and constitutional law that constitutional principles were thus expounded from the mouth of the musket, and interpreted under the whimsical despotism of the bayonet? Gen. Pope issued his order to the Treasurer, John Jones, to pay the \$40,000 for the convention. This order bore date the 20th of December, 1867. Col. Jones responded the 21st of December, declining to pay the amount because—

“Forbidden to pay money out of the treasury except upon warrant of the Governor and sanction of the Comptroller General, and having entered into heavy bonds for the faithful performance of the duties so prescribed.”

Gen. Pope took no action upon the matter, but left it for Gen. Meade's attention. On the 7th of January, 1868, Gen. Meade addressed a letter to Gov. Jenkins as Provisional Governor, and requested him to draw his warrant on the Treasury for the \$40,000. He urged, that this was “an appropriation made by law,” and Gov. Jenkins could therefore do it, and attention was called to the precedent of the Constitutional convention of 1865. Requesting Gov. Jenkins to show the letter to the Comptroller General, Gen. Meade thus concluded:

“Hoping that in the performance of the difficult and embarrassing duties now devolved upon me, I may have the co-operation and assistance of the Executive Department of Georgia, I am most respectfully, &c.”

Gov. Jenkins' response was a model of classic heroism. Through its high-bred courtesy ran a veiled vein of sharp satire and unflinching defiance. There was no concession in it. The convention, he argued, was called under a Federal law that prescribed tax to raise funds to pay the body. This fund did not come under the purview of the constitutions of Georgia or of the United States, which he had sworn to obey, and he added with a flavorful sarcasm:

“I have a serene consciousness that in declining to obey the behest of the convention, and to comply with your courteous request, I but pay a dutiful homage to both constitutions.”





Gov. Jenkins discussed the Reconstruction acts with reference to this point, and put his view with another whiff of subtle irony thus:

"I can find nothing which, in the remotest degree, authorizes the construction that they intend to saddle the Treasury of Georgia with the cost of their novel enterprise."

Continuing in the same satirical humor Gov. Jenkins said, that he was unable to find any duty devolved upon him in the "multiplied reconstruction acts" except "not to obstruct" them, which was a negative duty, and he grimly added:

"Believe me, General, in my official position, compliance with your request would involve a tremendous activity, nay, even the abandonment of previously imposed duty."

With the statement that the State's money could not pay the convention and at the same time the regular burdens of government, Gov. Jenkins respectfully declined Gen. Meade's request. The letter of Gov. Jenkins bore date the 10th of December, 1867. On the 13th, Gen. Meade, in a short but polite note, informed Gov. Jenkins that he removed him from his office, viewing his refusal to pay this money, and also, his refusal to pay the salary of M. S. Bigby, Solicitor General of the Tallapoosa circuit, appointed by Gen. Pope, as obstructions of the reconstruction laws. Treasurer Jones was also removed.

Brev. Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Ruger was "*detailed for duty*" as Governor of Georgia, and Brev. Capt. Charles F. Rockwell, Treasurer of Georgia. On the 17th of January, 1868, the Comptroller General, John T. Burns, was removed and Capt. Charles Wheaton "*detailed for duty*" in his place. These are the words used to fill these great offices. The order in regard to the Executive is given in full, as a document that will read in the far distant future, when the memory of the war is a dim tradition, as a rare curiosity of military politics:

"HEADQUARTERS THIRD MILITARY DISTRICT, }  
Dept. of Ga., Ala. and Fla. }  
ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 13, 1868. }

"General Order No. 8:

"I. Charles J. Jenkins, Provisional Governor, and John Jones, Provisional Treasurer of the State of Georgia, having declined to respect the instructions of, and failed to co-operate with the Major General commanding the Third Military District, are hereby removed from office.

"II. By virtue of the authority granted by the Supplementary Reconstruction Act of Congress, passed July 19th, 1867, the following named officers are detailed for duty in the District of Georgia: Brevet Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger, Colonel 33d Infantry, to be Governor of the State of Georgia; Brevet Captain Charles F. Rockwell, Ordnance Corps, U. S. Army, to be Treasurer of the State of Georgia.

"III. The above named officers will proceed without delay to Milledgeville, Georgia, and enter upon the discharge of the duties devolving upon them, subject to instructions from these Headquarters.

By order of GENERAL MEADE.

[Official:]

R. C. DRUM, Assistant Adjutant General.

"GEORGE K. SANDERSON, Capt. and Act. Asst. Adjt. Gen."



Reverting to those unhinged times, one wonders at the moderation of tyranny that accompanied the unlimited despotism in the grasp of these lucky soldiers, invested as if by enchantment with supreme power. To their credit be it said that generally they wielded their authority with respect for old usages and established rights. And where they broke over the conventional forms, they did so under the soldiers' spirit of obedience to orders. They were directed to enforce the Reconstruction measures and they did it to the letter. General Hancock was the exception in one splendid respect. He had ideas of civil law and liberty and a rare conception of constitutional principles and of the spirit of true republican government. In the coming future his renown as a soldier, great as that is, will pale before the resplendent radiance of his fame as the champion of regulated civil right.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### THE FEVERISH MARCH OF EVENTS IN 1868.

Startling Incidents.—Officers Removed.—Gov. Jenkins' Suit.—Relief.—The Union League.—The Ku Klux Klan.—Twin Excrescences of Reconstruction.—R. B. Bullock Nominated.—Democratic Committee.—Judge A. Reese.—Judge D. Irwin.—Gen. J. B. Gordon.—Gov. Brown's Frightful Ostracism.—E. Hulburt.—Sharp and Quick.—Bullock counted in Governor.—Gov. Brown at Chicago.—The Killing of Ashburn.—The Trial of the Columbus Prisoners.—Gov. Brown's Connection with the Case Fairly Stated.—A Bitter Legacy of Censure.—The Champion of Civil Supremacy.—Gov. Brown's Speech at Atlanta.—The Charge of Inciting the Negroes to Incendiarism.—The Language Used.—An Admonition against Trouble.—The State Democratic Convention.—Its Personelle.—The Electoral Ticket.—Gen. Gordon.—Judge J. T. Clarke.—A. O. Bacon.—J. B. Cumming.—W. O. Tuggle.—Democratic Mass Meeting.—Splendid Invective of Toombs, Cobb, Hill and Moses.—The Famous Bush Arbor Speeches.—The Fury and the Virtue of that Day.—Tempests of Human Passion.

STARTLING and revolutionary events succeeded each other swiftly. Men ceased to be surprised at anything, and continued to blaze with an increasing indignation. No attempt was made to conciliate our masters. Exasperated and defiant, the South growled and fought like a wounded and unconquerable lion. The soldiers were denounced, the convention lampooned, the Federal authorities defied, and reconstruction and its advocates spurned, insulted and hated. The people boldly resisted reconstruction, and Gen. Meade firmly enforced it. Col. N. C. Barnett, the Secretary of State, was removed, and Capt. Charles Wheaton detailed in his stead. Comptroller-General J. T. Burns was arrested and confined in jail a day or two, under a ludicrous mistake, for a man named Barnes. James J. McGowan, Tax Collector of Chatham county, was arrested for refusing to pay the taxes collected to the Military Treasurer. Judge John T. Clarke, of the Pataula Circuit, was removed because he adjourned his court on the ground of Gen. Meade's "illegal, unconstitutional, oppressive and dangerous orders!"

Gov. Jenkins went to Washington, carrying the Great Seal of State, and about four hundred thousand dollars of money, which was placed in New York to pay the public debt. He filed a bill complaining that Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois, George G. Meade of Pennsylvania, Thos. H. Ruger of Wisconsin, and C. F. Rockwell of Vermont, had illegally





seized the State's property and imprisoned the State Treasurer, and asked an injunction of said parties from further spoliation. The convention adjourned, cursed by the people. It had witnessed some lively scenes. A. Alpeoria Bradley, an incendiary negro, was the irrepressible orator of the body, tackling with venomous and voluble impartiality the Republican and Democratic leaders, until it was shown that he had been in the penitentiary in some northern state for seduction, when he was expelled. One of the leading measures was relief from old debts, and a large homestead law, and it was expected that these popular matters would sugar-coat the constitution, and make the people swallow it. Mr. Akerman, an advanced reconstructionist, opposed it. The extreme Radicals tried hard to direct legislation in a bitter channel. Gov. Brown fought this, and declared that if they exceeded the requirements of the reconstruction measures he would oppose their constitution. Some eloquent speeches were made by such members as L. N. Trammell, J. D. Waddell and Dr. H. V. M. Miller, against the extreme acts.

No picture of that day will be complete that omits that truly "loyal" organism, the "Union League," founded and run in secret deliberations in the interest of the Republican party. Its chiefs were William Markham and Henry P. Farrow. It united its members in a compact, oath-bound organization of wonderful cohesiveness and discipline. Its hidden partisan efficiency was remarkable, and it ruled consummately its unlettered legionaries from Africa. Perhaps the most pernicious damage done by this order was the utter loathsome disrepute into which it brought the sacred idea of loyalty to government. All dissent from the sanctity of oppression and the virtue of tyranny was "disloyal;" all abject approval of every hideous abortion of relentless despotism was "loyal." The line of loyalty was ignominious subservience to power.

But there was a companion to this abominable dynasty in the dangerous order of the Ku Klux. The one caused the other. The Ku Klux Klan was the perilous effect of which the odious League was the unhealthy cause. The Klan was a veritable body, founded in a holy object and often prostituted to violence under great provocation. The writer knew all about it, and shared in its legitimate work. It combined the best men of the State, old, virtuous, settled, cautious citizens. Its object was the preservation of order and the protection of society. It used mystery as its weapon. It was intended to aid the law and prevent crime. In the license of the era it was a matter of self-defence



against plunder, assassination and rape. Both the League and the Klan were excrescences of reconstruction, the natural outcome of abnormal politics and abortive government.

The convention provided for an election on the 20th of April, 1868, for the ratification and rejection of the constitution framed by that body, and for the election of a Governor and General Assembly. Henry P. Farrow was the choice of his party for Governor. He went into reconstruction with a ripping energy. He was badly crowded by the Democrats. But he was a game person, and unlike the mass of his colleagues, ready to meet personal responsibility. He was denounced as a coward by Col. M. A. Nevin of Rome. A correspondence ensued. Col. Nevin was crippled. Farrow refused to fight him, but went out and exchanged shots with Capt. Thomas O'Connor, the second of Nevin, who then manfully withdrew the charge of cowardice. The Republican members of the convention organized themselves into a nominating body, ignored Farrow, and upon motion of Foster Blodgett, nominated Rufus B. Bullock for Governor. It was as good as a play to see the way of Republican politics at that time.

The Democratic executive committee was composed of E. G. Cabaness, chairman; E. A. Nisbet, J. J. Gresham, James Jackson, G. W. Adams, L. N. Whittle, J. R. Snead, A. W. Reese, Ambrose R. Wright, J. Hartridge, N. Tift, P. W. Alexander, J. I. Whitaker, J. A. W. Johnson, S. J. Smith. The committee on the 13th of March, 1868, nominated for Governor, Judge Augustus Reese, and for delegates to the Democratic Presidential nominating convention, J. B. Gordon, A. H. Chappell, B. H. Hill, H. S. Fitch; and alternates, W. Akin, E. Starnes, A. H. Colquitt and C. J. Munnerlyn.

Judge David Irwin announced himself a candidate for Governor. On the 24th of March, Judge Reese, who had on the 17th accepted the Democratic nomination, declined on the ground that he was not eligible, and recommended Judge Irwin. The committee thereupon nominated Judge Irwin, who accepted. The Republicans sprung the point upon him that he had been a Confederate presidential elector, and Gen. Meade deciding this to disqualify him, he dropped out. The committee, baffled in two trials for eligible material, consulted Gen. Meade as to the eligibility of John B. Gordon, and receiving the opinion of the polite autocrat that the gallant Gordon was all right, put him out as the Democratic standard-bearer, against Bullock. The campaign that followed was rancorous and much mixed. The Democratic policy was to defeat the Constitution and elect Gordon, which would have made





Gordon's triumph a nullity. The Republicans pressed both the Constitution and Bullock. A considerable number, led by Dr. H. V. M. Miller, advocated the Constitution and Gordon. Varney Gaskill, that wonderful piece of political versatility, ran this schedule.

Rufus B. Bullock was a large, handsome, social specimen of a man, pleasant-mannered, and well liked. He had been in Georgia nine years, and occupied the place of head of the express company in the State, and president of the Macon and Augusta R. R. He had been somewhat of a savage reconstructionist in the convention. The Democrats were for defeating the reconstruction measures. Gov. Brown, therefore, had no alternative but to cooperate with the side that, if elected, would enforce his views, and he took the field for Bullock. All of his sympathies and innate convictions were with the Democrats and Gordon. But his sense of the needs of his State and people was for taking promptly the offered chance of restoration, and at one stroke end a military government becoming daily more intolerable. The people battered their old idol fearfully. Many would not listen to his speeches; others insulted; all denounced and ostracized him. It was in some degree a question of personal safety. Few men would have stood to the rack. Gov. Brown was never one of the yielding kind. Opposition but intensified, abuse but strengthened, and ostracism fired his combativeness. It must ever stand an unsurpassed example of human endurance and pluck, that he never flinched or wavered in this pitiless ordeal.

The election continued for four days. Hulburt, as fine a master of political opportunities as the world ever saw, had the handling of registration and the election returns. It was a strategic novelty in elections, to run them for several days. The watch of the run of things, and the transfer of the unidentifiable colored voter to weak points, enabled a "sharp and quick" manager, like this unequaled strategist, to produce any required result. The constitution was first declared ratified by a majority of 17,699 votes. The election of R. B. Bullock was then promulgated. The *Columbus Sun* and *Times* published the following unique and significant document:

"OFFICE SUPERINTENDENT REGISTRATION, }  
ATLANTA, GA., May 8, 1868. }

"JOHN M. DUER, Esq., Columbus:

"*Dear Sir:*—Yours of 6th at hand. We want affidavits proving force, fraud, intimidation, in violation of general orders. We must have them and plenty of them. Go to work and get them up at once.

"The names of the parties making the affidavits will not be known to any person except yourself and the Board. They need have no fears on that score. You can swear



them before Capt. Hill. Please go to work "sharp and quick." Get Chapman and other friends to assist you.

"The election in your county will be contested. Defend yourselves by attacking the enemy.

"Respectfully, &c.,

"E. HULBURT."

It was generally understood, in spite of this "sharp and quick" sort of practice, that the Legislature was Democratic. The National Democratic convention met in New York, and nominated Seymour and Blair upon the bold platform that the new reconstruction amendments were revolutionary, unconstitutional and void. This was the issue, and a momentous one it was. It had been foreshadowed for some time, and the South rallied to it with a joyful exhilaration, looking to the Democratic party to undo Radical reconstruction and restore the governments framed by Andrew Johnson. A Democratic President elected upon this issue would refuse to execute the Reconstruction Acts, and thus the Southern states could overthrow the reconstruction governments. Gov. Brown believed first, that the Democrats could not succeed on this platform, and second, that if they did succeed it would be resisted to bloodshed by the Northern Republicans, and bring continued suffering on the South. So believing, and regarding Gen. Grant as favorably disposed to the South, he thought he foresaw the only solution of our troubles in the support of Gen. Grant and the Republican party.

Gov. Brown went to the Chicago Convention that nominated General Grant and participated as a delegate. His presence there created stormy commentary at home and attracted general attention in the North. He made a characteristic speech in the convention, bold and pronounced, that elicited a wide variety of criticism. He was in favor of acceptance of the terms of reconstruction. For this he was applauded roundly. But when he announced that he could not support any policy that would put the negroes of the South over his own race, he raised a storm, and was denounced as a rebel. It was a daring utterance under all the circumstances. Reviewing Gov. Brown's course out of the passions of that time, and in the light of events that followed, seeing how he antagonized the extreme men of both sides, how the odious measures he advised to be accepted were swallowed whole after ineffectual resistance, how he pursued the unflinching tenor of his way through a pitiless current of scalding execration, his perception and nerve were crowningly demonstrated. It took simply unlimited courage to support Grant and reconstruction in that day, and the man who dared do it, who was an honest man as Gov. Brown was and is, did harder work than fighting battles and storming batteries.



It has been a peculiarity of Gov. Brown, from the beginning of his public career, that he has had the firmness to lay down a course that was unpopular, and adhere to it against every opposition until its result has been tested. His course on reconstruction was a striking example of this. The universal opposition to his policy by the good people of Georgia did not abate one jot of his resolution. His position in favor of Grant was one of popular abhorrence, yet he never wavered in it. But when Grant was elected, and developed a harsh spirit to the South not expected, Gov. Brown openly opposed his course. The philosophy of Gov. Brown's conduct was, that he approved of no measure oppressive to the South, but acquiesced in, or accepted, all measures that he deemed certain of imposition upon us. His theory was, that if we could lay down our arms conquered, abolish slavery forever, and repudiate our war debts, we should swallow other bitter pills that we must take if we would get our freedom and local self-government. And believing that the sooner we took the terms offered by the conqueror, and the less useless resistance we made, the speedier would be our political rehabilitation, he conscientiously and under unparalleled opposition, and with superhuman courage advocated such a course.

The support of Grant and the prosecution of the Columbus prisoners charged with the murder of G. W. Ashburn, were the two acts of Gov. Brown at this time, that concentrated upon him the public obloquy of Georgians. The latter stood against him, however, when the former was forgotten and explained. The late campaign for Governor that resulted in the re-election of Gov. Colquitt to the gubernatorial chair, and the popular ratification of Gov. Brown's appointment as United States Senator, has settled this matter satisfactorily to a large majority of the unprejudiced people of the State.

G. W. Ashburn was a member of the Constitutional Convention, a native of North Carolina, and had been in Georgia for fully thirty years. He had offered in the convention resolutions asking Congress to relieve our people of disabilities. He was, however, a pronounced Radical and an unlettered man, and he lived with some negroes in Columbus. He was killed at night by unknown parties. The murder created much excitement in the state. The military took the matter in hand, and arrested Elisha J. Kirksee, C. C. Bedell, James W. Barber, W. A. Duke, R. Hudson, W. D. Chipley, A. C. Roper, J. S. Wiggins and R. A. Wood. A military court was organized to try them, which convened at Atlanta on the 29th of June, 1868. The counsel for the prisoners were A. H. Stephens, M. J. Crawford, J. M. Smith, J. M. Ramsay, L. J.





Gartrell, H. L. Benning and R. J. Moses. The prosecuting officers were Gen. Dunn, Judge Advocate, assisted by ex-Gov. Jos. E. Brown and Major Wm. M. Smythe.

While in confinement the prisoners were treated badly and subjected to indignities. Inhuman means were used to extort confessions from them, and to suborn evidence from colored witnesses. The sweat boxes were resorted to at Fort Pulaski, where the prisoners were confined, to compel admissions of guilt. These cruelties occurred before Gov. Brown's employment by Gen. Meade in the case. Yet in spite of this fact the odium of this bad treatment was thrown unjustly upon him. It shows the morbid spirit of those days, that a lawyer in professionally accepting employment in the prosecution of a murder case, should be acrimoniously abused.

Weighing the evidence in the matter fairly and dispassionately, Gov. Brown shows very conclusively that in taking part in this prosecution he was governed by proper motives, and did a service to the public and the prisoners. He alleges that Gen. Meade employed him on the condition required by him, that he should control the case, and that upon the restoration of civil law the case should be given up by the military authorities. His employment prevented the retention of very extreme men. The corroboration of Gov. Brown in this statement, of his agency in this matter, has been very striking. It has been argued against its credibility that during Gen. Meade's life, no revelation of the explanation was made by Gov. Brown when that officer could have verified or denied it. Major A. Leyden of Atlanta talked with Gen. Meade several times, and says that he was assured by Gen. Meade that his fears for the prisoners would not be realized. Mr. John C. Whitner of Atlanta states that Detective Whiteley, who worked up the evidence for the prosecution, told him that the understanding when Brown was employed was that the military trial was to be run over into the organization of the new State government, and the military court dissolved. Gen. William Phillips testifies that Gov. Brown consulted with him at the time upon the subject, and explained to him his object. Maj. Campbell Wallace had an interview at the time with Gen. Meade, and that interview confirms Gov. Brown's statement. Many years ago Gov. Brown gave to Hon. A. H. Stephens and Dr. J. S. Lawton his version of this matter.

A part of the charge against Gov. Brown, in this connection, was that he first sought to be employed by the prisoners for \$10,000, and failing in this, took a fee from the government. Mr. W. A. Bedell explodes



this aspersion, stating that he endeavored to employ Gov. Brown for the prisoners, who replied that he was already retained by the Government. The Legislature adopted the Fourteenth Amendment on the 21st of July. Gov. Bullock was inaugurated as civil Governor of the State on the 22d of July, 1868, and on that very day Gen. Meade suspended the proceedings of the military court till further orders. And on the 24th of July, Gen. Meade issued a general order, reciting the welcome fact that military power had ceased under the Reconstruction Acts in the State, and that the military commission for the trial of the prisoners charged with assassinating G. W. Ashburn being adjourned *sine die*, the prisoners should be transferred to the custody of Capt. Mills, with instructions to release them on bond. The object was accomplished, and the service rendered. The innocent men escaped and returned to their families and homes, after a fearful experience of the mockery of military government.

This Ashburn matter constitutes one of the darkest episodes of that dark day. It left a more lasting and bitter legacy of hard feeling than any event of reconstruction. It wounded Gov. Brown more deeply than any other incident of his life, and has followed him with a crueler punishment, and yet if there is anything in human evidence, he was governed by a noble motive, he sought a worthy object and deserves honor for his conduct. The whole occurrence was tragic in the extreme—the gory murder, the wholesale arrest, the torture of the sweat boxes, the despotism of an armed court, the substitution of the bayonet for the law, and the soldier for the judge, the perilous pendency of human life upon the caprice of the shoulder-strap, the bloody hunger of the clamorous mob at the north, the background of political strife seething with the unsettled passions of war, the resentful fears of an angry state—all were strong features of this throbbing picture. But of it all there was no part more striking than the long crucifixion of Gov. Brown, seemingly an instrument of unsparing hate, but really a champion of release and civil supremacy.

There could be no more marked demonstration of the ultimate power of truth than the change wrought in Col. R. J. Moses. He was of counsel for the prisoners. He even refused to practice in the Supreme Court while Gov. Brown was Chief Justice. Up to 1877 he had continued to hold Gov. Brown in deep censure. But the light thrown upon him, tested in the judicial crucible of an unusually strong and well equipped legal intelligence, drove him to make public profert of his exoneration of Gov. Brown. And it loses none of its significance



because he rectified the honestly entertained misconception of years in Columbus, where the unabated condemnation of Gov. Brown frowned with all the terror wielded by a sincere and virtuous public opinion. It was an act of genuine courage on the part of Col. Moses. Many worthy citizens in that section still honestly hold Gov. Brown in blame in this connection. But the marvelous transformation wrought in the large majority of our best people upon this intense question is an earnest of that completed correction that is coming to him from the entire people of the State.

Another charge made against Gov. Brown at this time was a very serious accusation, but was so utterly incredible as to have gained no general lodgment in the public mind. It was believed and used to some extent, but people generally did not heed it. It was too flagrant for belief. In an address in Atlanta he was accused of stimulating the negroes to resort to the incendiaries' torch if need be in furtherance of their rights. These are the words used by Gov. Brown on that occasion, and which have been so injuriously construed.

"When in the history of the past, did you ever know four millions of people with the ballot in their hands, surrender it without bloodshed? It cost revolution to give it to them, and nothing short of bloody revolution can take it from them. If you will allow them to exercise it without disturbances, they will do it peaceably. If there are any outbreaks and disturbances, they, I predict, will grow out of the attempts of the white race to deprive the colored race of this right, or to interfere with its free exercise. I warn you, my friends, to be cautious on both sides, how you put your lives in jeopardy and your homes and families in peril. And I especially warn my own race of the extreme danger to them in case of collision. The colored people have but little, except their lives to risk in the fight, if it should unfortunately come. The white race have the same risk, and in addition to this, they have their property to lose. Your houses, your villages, towns and cities are all pledged to peace. Be careful then how you excite discord and bloodshed."

It will be seen from a critical and dispassionate examination, how this language in a rancorous time could be distorted into a perversion of its meaning, and yet there be no real ground for the damaging construction that was put upon it. In cooler moments of judgment, the speaker's purpose is unmistakably clear of making an argument against any violent attempt to disturb negro suffrage after it had been legally established and practically exercised. The words, instead of being an incitement to trouble, was a very decided admonition against it.

In July, 1868, two important bodies convened in Atlanta, the State Democratic convention and the new General Assembly. The convention met on the 23d, to choose Seymour and Blair electors. Judge Augustus Reese was made president of the body, and the vice-presidents were





Dr. R. D. Arnold, Gen. A. H. Colquitt, L. H. Featherston, John J. Floyd, B. T. Harris, Col. S. J. Smith, and C. D. McCutchen. The gathering was an unexampled one in Georgia political annals. There were 1,009 delegates from 108 counties, and nearly every leading man in Georgia was present. There has never been a more heated time in our State politics, and the fervor was universal. It was a solid assemblage of the leaders of public opinion in the commonwealth, with one conspicuous exception, and that exception the most potential one of all, ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown, who stood single handed in the most unsparing public conflict of the century. Public passion has never been intenser or stormed higher, and it beat pitilessly upon Joe Brown. The convention ratified the nomination of Seymour and Blair, adopted the Democratic platform, declaring the amendments revolutionary, unconstitutional and void, and put out an electoral ticket composed as follows:

*At Large*.—John B. Gordon, John T. Clarke.

*Alternates*.—William T. Wofford, Thomas M. Norwood.

*District*.—J. C. Nichols, C. T. Goode, R. J. Moses, A. O. Bacon, J. B. Cumming, H. P. Bell, J. D. Waddell.

*Alternates*.—J. H. Hunter, William O. Fleming, W. O. Tuggle, Dr. H. Wimberly, Gen. D. M. Du Bose, G. McMillan.

Many of these were new men. So many of the older politicians were disfranchised that a selection of new material was unavoidable. Gen. J. B. Gordon had been our most famous Georgia soldier, and adding, as he did, the sweet graces of a Christian character to the glittering *eclat* of the successful general, he became the idol of the people. A handsome, noble looking person, with a soldier's carriage and air, a face full of genial chivalry like his soul, a brave, capable, royal gentleman, Gordon was, and is to-day, as fine a specimen of the typical Southerner as we have ever had in the South. The man has absolutely rioted in popularity. He became United States Senator under extraordinary circumstances of personal triumph.

Judge John T. Clarke owed his selection as elector to his having been removed as Judge by Gen. Pope. The choice illustrates the fervent temper of the people about reconstruction, and the spirit of resistance to military tyranny that prevailed. Judge Clarke is one of the readiest and most accomplished lawyers and debaters in the State, possessing singular power of thinking upon his feet. He was a member of the last State Senate. Col. J. C. Nichols has served a term in Congress. Col. C. T. Goode is now dead. He enjoyed the name of the "Silver Tongued Orator." Maj. A. O. Bacon has become a very prominent



public man, and has a bright promise before him. A lawyer of uncommon ability, he has developed an unusual capacity for public life. His appearance is very marked—a tall, shapely person, with a fine head and face, and a long flowing blonde beard, Maj. Bacon is a noticeable individual anywhere. Repeatedly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, no one has ever enjoyed a higher reputation as a presiding officer. His popularity in the deliberative bodies, over which he has so gracefully reigned, has been something exceptional. All of his public addresses and documents are finished, logical and full of thought. A recent letter of his in the *American* newspaper on the political situation was the finest and most philosophical discussion of public issues of the many published by that journal. The lack of Maj. Bacon is warmth; and his defect, a tendency to exclusiveness and reserve, that, in a measure, has cut him from the masses. An infusion of popular sympathy into his very rare intellectuality will come to him and will add materially to his political equipment.

Maj. J. B. Cumming, a brother of the gifted Julian Cumming, to whom allusion has been made heretofore, is a stately Spanish-looking gentleman, whose gifts of manner and speech are very attractive. He was a member of the last State Senate and one of the leaders of that body. Gen. D. M. Du Bose, a son-in-law of Gen. Toombs, was an efficient member of Congress several years ago. Col. J. D. Waddell is a brilliant writer and speaker, and the author of a delightful book about Linton Stephens. William O. Fleming is now judge of the Albany circuit, and a jurist of ability. Col. W. O. Tuggle has made himself famous by his masterly prosecution of Georgia claims before the Congress at Washington. A gentleman of fine social qualities, an unusual capacity for handling statistics, and unbounded energy, Col. Tuggle will be a useful public man, if he cares to enter politics.

The assembling of the convention was made the occasion of the largest political mass meeting ever held in Georgia. Dr. J. F. Alexander was the chairman of the Fulton county Democratic executive committee, and he exhibited a wonderful management in the creation and handling of this monster affair. An immense BUSH ARBOR was constructed down in an open space on Alabama street, near the depot, since built up. The fiery addresses made on this occasion received their distinctive designation as the "Bush Arbor speeches." There was an immense torchlight procession. People flocked to this gathering from all parts of the State. The four orators of the day were Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, Benjamin H. Hill, and Raphael J. Moses, a rare and



unequaled quartette of popular speakers. Perhaps there never has been, in the annals of eloquence, a grander display of red-hot invective than was given in these memorable Bush Arbor orations. It was a sweltering day in July. The uncomfortable plank seats were packed. A pall of stilling dust hung over the massed throng and the swarming city. But for five mortal hours of unspeakable discomfort, the solid mass of people, with fully one-third of it ladies, sat unmindful of the discomfort, hanging eagerly upon the torrid utterances of the speakers. The enthusiasm, at times, was overwhelming. Every note of denunciation of reconstruction and reconstructionists, was greeted with deafening applause. The pelting given Gov. Brown, was simply savage. There was no qualification in the abuse heaped upon him. When passion subsides, its fierce words, in the light of cool sense, read like extravagant lunacy. The rancorous phrases of these undeniable statesmen on that mid-summer day in 1868, conned over in the calm reason of this far distant time, excite wonder at their ferocious exaggeration. Said Gen. Cobb:

"Oh Heaven! for some blasting word that I might write infamy upon the foreheads of such men!"

Said Mr. Hill:

"Oh! Give over the miscreants to the inextinguishable hell of their own consciousness of infamy...Ye miserable spawns of political accident, hatched by the putrid growth of revolutionary corruption into an ephemeral existence—renegades from every law of God, and violators of every right of man—ye *unnameable creatures!*"

Such were the hard terms born of the fury of the era that were put upon men who are to-day solid in public esteem. There is a grim lesson in it all. Tempests of human passion, like storms of the elements, make cruel work while they last. But through their craziest fury, the great Providence of God is steadily reigning and the sun of truth preserving its serene and omnipotent immutability. There were many vile men engaged in the crusade of reconstruction, who merited the worst of this crimination. But there were true citizens who, under patriotic duty, urged submission to the choice of evils, who were terribly battered in the unrelenting strifes of that mad epoch, and who have lived to see the reaction that always comes in favor of right-purposed men. Gen. Cobb, in conversation with the writer, at the rooms of the Young Men's Democratic Club, the afternoon after the speaking, alluded to his own severe invective and declared with a grave frankness that he feared that the denunciation had been unwise.

The very savagery of that day grew out of the natural and honor-





able rebellion of a virtuous people's best impulses against indignity and wrong. The very excesses of spirit of a good community in resentment of oppression, are the best evidence of the possession of those qualities of chivalric manhood and sensibility to injustice, without which there can be no great national character. And the sentimental martyrdom of intractable zealots, violating the teachings of policy, has demonstrated the exalted heroism of human nature and laid the groundwork for the ultimate triumph of truth and right. The South resisted Reconstruction under a noble inspiration. The men whom she crucified in that day in her splendid fury, can find vindication the more valuable from that fact.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### THE FAMOUS LEGISLATIVE EXPURGATION OF THE BLACKS.

The Racy Legislature of 1868.—A Parody upon Legislation.—Its Personelle.—I. E. Shumate.—The Speakership.—Gen. Meade's Orders.—Mr. Chairman Bullock.—Dunlap Scott.—B. Conley.—R. McWhorter.—J. E. Bryant.—Eligibility.—Bullock's Inauguration.—"Go it, Niggers!"—Message.—Gov. Bullock's Administration.—Gov. Brown's Defeat for U. S. Senator.—Ferocity of Public Passion.—A Wild Scene.—The Culmination of Gov. Brown's Unpopularity.—Atlanta Jubilation.—The State Stirred.—Joshua Hill Elected Senator.—The Fanny Martin Slander.—The State Reconstructed.—Rufus E. Lester.—Sam Bard.—Ineligibility of Colored Members.—Hatred and Picturesque Discussion.—Bullock's Tart Message.—Rebuke of Gov. Bullock.—Bullock's Opportunity.—The Colored Members Ousted.—J. R. Saussy.—John Jones.—The Camilla Riot.—An Exciting Episode.—The Colored Convention.—Marion Bethune.—The Curious Effect of Democratic Opposition to Reconstruction.

THE Legislature assembled on the 4th day of July, 1868. The convening of this General Assembly was an important event in Georgia history, and its deliberations and acts were a symbolical epitome of the variegated Reconstruction that sired it. It was a strange blending of farce and melodrama. It was *bizarre* in the extreme, affording such an admixture of light and shade as few legislative bodies ever exhibited. There is nothing like it in the annals of Georgia. It swept out completely men's customary notions of legislative conduct. It was at times the most roaring comedy of a day rich in the comical and the incongruous. It was again so tragical that it almost engendered revolution. Its elements were varied and racy. Its membership was attractively picturesque. It was an exquisite parody upon ordinary legislation, and a faithful photograph of the most novel episode of Georgia history. The chronicles of this legislature would make a volume of its own. There was in it a good sprinkling of very fine material.

The Senate showed such sterling spirits as C. B. Wootten, B. B. Hinton, E. D. Graham, A. D. Nunnally, M. A. Candler, W. T. Winn, A. W. Holcombe, C. J. Wellborn, J. T. Burns and J. C. Fain. Mr. Candler we have spoken of before. A. W. Holcombe was in the last Senate, and a public man of force. Col. C. J. Wellborn has long been



a power in North-eastern Georgia; a gentleman of clear judgment and large influence, and now Judge of the North-eastern Circuit. Col. J. C. Fain has been continuously in public life, and is now Judge of the Cherokee Circuit, and a person of exceptional powers of political management.

In the House were some marked men: W. D. Anderson, J. C. Nisbet, R. W. Phillips, M. Rawls, Dunlap Scott, M. Ballenger, C. C. Duncan, W. P. Price, W. M. Butt, J. J. McArthur, W. M. Tumlin, J. A. Cobb, F. M. Harper, R. W. Flournoy and I. E. Shumate. Of these, Mr. Shumate of Whitfield was the most brilliant. A slender, dark-eyed, heavy-whiskered gentleman, with a clear, sweet, ringing voice of unusual compass, and a fluent flow of vivid language, he was then, and is to-day, a most charming orator, with few equals in the State. He became instantly a leader in the body, and was placed at the head of one of the most important committees, that on the "State of the Republic." M. Rawls went to Congress afterwards. W. P. Price became an efficient representative in Congress, and is now a member of the Legislature. He has been a very useful man to his section, being the main instrument in the establishment of the fine Agricultural College at Dalton. Mr. Tumlin has been an adventurous figure in Georgia politics, audacious and generally successful. A very active personality, for a long time, in the public strifes of that day was Col. Dunlap Scott, who held for years a rattling sort of leadership by his boldness.

The Senate stood twenty-six Republicans to eighteen Democrats, and elected Hon. Benjamin Conley, President. The complexion of the House was in doubt. Hon. W. P. Price and Hon. R. L. McWhorter ran for Speaker. The vote was taken. Mr. Price had stepped out and on returning was informed that Mr. McWhorter had voted for him, and he reciprocated the courtesy by voting for Mr. McWhorter. The vote stood then seventy-six for McWhorter, seventy-four for Price, and one for Holden. Mr. Price, upon information that he had been deceived, and that Mr. McWhorter had not voted for him, asked permission to change his vote. The *Atlanta Intelligencer* says the permission was granted and the vote stood a tie. The Journal of the House states that the permission was refused. Both concur in the statement that Mr. McWhorter was declared the Speaker elect. Mr. Mark Hardin, a Democrat, was elected clerk.

The Constitution made by the Convention had been submitted to Congress for revision. Congress had approved the Constitution except two features, one giving relief from suits on claims except for slaves





made before June 15, 1865, and the other to force settlement of such claims by the imposition of a tax not exceeding twenty-five per cent. after the 1st January, 1868. Congress passed an Act allowing Georgia representation in Congress when she should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and give assent to the nullification of the relief clauses. Gen. Meade issued his order declaring who were elected to the legislature, and also an order to Gov. Bullock to effect "such preliminary organization of both Houses of the legislature as will enable the same to enter upon the discharge of the duties assigned them by law." Gov. Bullock had already notified the body to convene on the 4th of July. The organization, in the language of the journals, was made by the "Governor elect as Chairman," Gen. Meade, Judge Erskine and J. R. Parrott aiding. Dunlap Scott began that system of badgering that made him so noted. He moved an adjournment in honor of the day, "that we should not desecrate it by wrangling over an organization." The "Chairman" refused to entertain any motion. Scott appealed to the House from the decision. Bullock said there was no appeal but to the military. Scott then appealed to the military. Bullock consulted with Gen. Meade and refused still to entertain the motion, and immediately after walked down the aisle and apologized for not putting the motion, as he was acting under military orders that he could not disobey.

Both Mr. Conley and Mr. McWhorter have been bitter Republican partisans, and enjoyed a large share of public odium for many years on account of their course. Both are men of personal integrity, while Mr. McWhorter had and still has strong local influence. Both stand well now as citizens. Among the prominent Republicans in the body were, H. M. Turner, J. W. Adkins, Ephraim Tweedy, J. E. Bryant, A. A. Bradley, Tunis G. Campbell, F. O. Welch, T. J. Speer, and Jos. Adkins. Bradley and Campbell were colored men, and vicious ones. There were twenty-eight negroes in the body. The most picturesque figure on the Republican side, perhaps, was J. E. Bryant. He has been an unexampled manipulator of the black element for years, until in 1880 he was completely unhorsed. He has played a highly-colored part in all of the shifting episodes of reconstruction. No man has ever joined to the deftest pen and glibbest tongue in presenting the humanitarian aspects of reconstruction, a keener clutch of the more practical instrumentalities that govern the untutored colored intelligence. He has been both a subtle and a bold leader of the dark element of suffrage.

The Assembly was engaged until the 22d of July in testing the eligi-



bility of members under the Fourteenth Amendment. There were majority and minority reports and much spicy sparring over the matter. Mr. Shumate made much reputation by his able report and brilliant speech, taking and maintaining successfully the ground that all of the members were eligible. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified and assent given to the congressional elimination of relief from our State Constitution, and on Wednesday, the 22nd day of July, 1868, Gov. Bullock was inaugurated, Gen. Meade and Staff attending, as the Executive of Georgia. The inaugural address was a short one, in which the main point was an encomium upon "that patriotic body—the Union Republican party." Mr. Conley declared Bullock Governor for four years. The *Intelligencer*, describing the scene, says:

"Some slight applause hailed the announcement, after which a voice from the end of the chamber was heard to rise high above everything else with the exclamation, 'Go it Niggers!' This expression created a great sensation."

The incident illustrates the embittered satirical feeling of the people. It looked as if rehabilitation had indeed come, but the manner and instruments of its coming were so repulsive that the public gazed on in sullen dissatisfaction, and reverted with a grim irony to the deposed Jenkins in exile with his family in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Gov. Bullock's message was a plain business document. The body proceeded regularly to business. Perhaps the most exciting episode of the session was the election of United States Senators. Gov. Brown had been urged by influential men out of the State in addition to many in it to run for the Senate, on the ground that owing to his peculiar attitude he could do the State more good than any other individual in the commonwealth. While unflinching in his adhesion to his unpopular course, he felt keenly the odium that his former friends and admirers were placing upon him. In a position of such power as he would have had in the United States Senate, he could have served Georgia so beneficially, that the people would have recognized his patriotic devotion to her interest, and the purity of his inspiration in that remarkable reconstruction drama. The writer has always deemed the act of allowing his name to be used for office in that day by Gov. Brown as the cardinal mistake of his course. It gave to his policy the aspect of interest. It lowered him from the high vantage ground he really held, and for which he would have soon gained full credit in the public mind. Sternly rejecting office, the argument for his disinterestedness would have been irresistible. Accepting office, he carried for long years a heavy burden of misconception. He really did not wish



place. He was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for twelve years, yet soon laid it down. He did himself the injustice of seeming to profit by his course, when he genuinely sought the public good. He would have been far earlier in winning the public recognition of his purposes, had he have wisely declined position.

The election took place on the 28th and 29th of July, and was an occasion of unparalleled excitement. The Democratic object was to defeat Gov. Brown at any cost. The general white element of the State had focalized an appalling intensity of detestation upon his head. Almost the single, strong old leader prop of Republicanism in the State, the popular abhorrence of reconstruction was concentrated upon him. Gov. Brown in that fierce day was the focus of a people's hatred. The savageness of the obloquy burning upon him is incapable of description. He was the vicarious recipient of the unsparing wrath of a great commonwealth. They would have shriveled him to ashes if they could have done so, in the pitiless intensity of their anger. It was a strange ferocity of passion, and constitutes the most remarkable experience in Gov. Brown's varied life. Few men could stand such an experience. It is equally extraordinary that it should be lived down.

The joint ballot showed Brown, 102; A. H. Stephens, 96; Joshua Hill, 13, and C. H. Hopkins, 1. It was anything and anybody to beat Brown. The Stephens phalanx broke in a rushing body to Hill, and the second joint ballot showed Hill 110 votes; Brown, 94; Stephens, 1; C. W. Stiles 1; and Brown defeated. Dr. H. V. M. Miller, on the second ballot, defeated Foster Blodgett. The election of Hill and defeat of Brown, were received in the gallery with a tornado of applause. The president ordered it cleared. Bryant, pale and excited, suggested that the police be called. Amid wild confusion, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the Senate retired from the Representative chamber. The city of Atlanta became delirious with excitement and congratulations. Buildings were illuminated that night, and bonfires made. An immense assemblage was gathered before the United States hotel and speeches made by Joshua Hill, Dr. Miller, Gen. J. B. Gordon, Col. Warren Akin, and Col. R. J. Cowart. Said Dr. Miller, one of the most thrilling public speakers the State has ever had, in the conclusion of an impassioned appeal for constitutional liberty:

"God preserve Georgia; God preserve the people; God preserve the country."

The State took up the throbbing refrain of exultation over Gov. Brown's defeat, and gave back one responsive echo of universal rejoicing. From one end of the State to the other, the result was triumph-







*Joshua Hill.*

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antly claimed as a Democratic victory. In the crazy hurly-burly it was lost out of memory, that the cherished Stephens, the overwhelming choice of the Democrats, had been slaughtered, and that by an original and incurable Republican, and the uncompromising opponent of the war Democracy. It was a curious inconsistency of the fever raging, and the dis-illusion came soon enough, and with crushing effect. Joshua Hill has always been a very brave and an uncommonly honest public man. He hastened with swift candor to correct the misconception of his attitude. He coolly destroyed any Democratic fervor over his election by announcing that he was elected as a Republican, and he should act as one. It was a grim piece of political retribution. Brown was never a conviction Republican, while Hill was. Brown was a chooser between evils, but Hill believed in the principles of Reconstruction. It was a complete realization of the story of the witch and the devil.

In this hour of defeat, the only one suffered by Gov. Brown in his long public life, Gov. Bullock, with a creditable sense of valuable service and a grateful appreciation of sacrifice endured, tendered Gov. Brown the place of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia. It was an unsolicited proffer, and was gratefully accepted by Gov. Brown in view of his defeat for the senate. This defeat of Gov. Brown was the culmination of his political eclipse. It was the turning point of his long episode of proscription.

Gov. Brown's adventurous career, however, was destined to have every possible phase of incident. It was during this year that the most anomalous calumny of his life was brought against him and shivered to fragments. Of all men in the world, Gov. Brown should be the last that a sensible person would accuse of gallantry with females. His life-long christianity, his pure, domestic life, his absorption in high intellectual labors, and the very physical personality of the man, spare, nervous and bloodless, should have stamped the aspersion as utterly improbable. It looked, therefore, that political enmity had run to a crazy length when Gov. Brown was charged with unchaste relations with a lady by the name of Mrs. Fannie Martin.

It looked as if in the fabrication of such an incongruous calumny as this, an adventurous destiny was simply coquetting with a dramatic life to endow it with all possible and impossible experiences. The whole basis of the charge was several letters purporting to be from Gov. Brown to Mrs. Martin, and these were declared by examination of Rev. C. W. Thomas, Rev. Dr. Wm. T. Brantley, Rev. Wm. H. Hunt, Hon. John Erskine, Judge J. D. Pope, Judge J. I. Whitaker, Judge L. E.



Bleckley, Maj. E. B. Walker, J. H. Steele, E. L. Jones, H. H. Waters, H. J. G. Williams and John B. Campbell to be forgeries. Gov. Brown in his calm, effective way, published a card with irrefutable proof, demolishing this incredible accusation, and it fell by the wayside, a queer addition to the episodes of an affluent career.

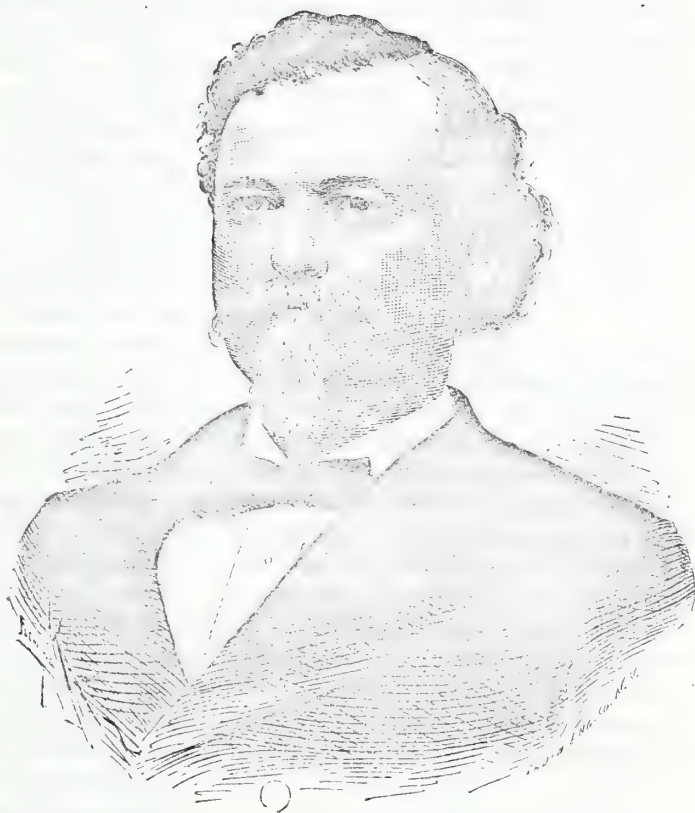
On the 28th of July, 1868, the proper order was issued declaring military rule under the reconstruction acts at an end in Georgia, and *it seemed* that we had, after a stormy voyage, reached the promised land of a sovereign restoration. But we were woefully mistaken. The end was not yet. Some of the sharpest experiences of this mongrel reconstruction were yet in reserve.

The following gentlemen were elected State House officers: D. G. Cotting Secretary of State, Madison Bell Comptroller-General, N. L. Angier Treasurer, Samuel Bard Public Printer. Col. E. Hulburt, who had been so conspicuous as a masterly Superintendent of Registration, was appointed by Gov. Bullock the Superintendent of the State Road. The notorious Aaron Alpeoria Bradley, one of the Senators, who had been expelled from the Constitutional Convention on account of conviction for seduction in New York, and sentenced to the penitentiary, resigned from the Senate to avoid expulsion, and in his place a young gentleman was seated as State Senator who has since then filled an important place in the public affairs of the State, and whose career, if he continues in public life, will be brilliant and useful. This was Hon. Rufus E. Lester of Savannah. Repeatedly sent to the Senate by the polished constituency of his District, twice President of the Senate, and one of the leading favorites for Governor in the last campaign, when Gov. Colquitt was elected, Mr. Lester has richly deserved his unusual enjoyment of political leadership.

He is one of the promising young men of the State, and the possessor of ability, eloquence and decision. Rather a small person, yet with an erect, sturdy figure and an open, characterful face, he has an unusually winning style of public speaking. His voice is silvery and resonant, his logic concise and clear-cut, and his language terse and fluent. Men have not been made firmer and more sincere than Lester. Possessing a blended simplicity and amiability of manner, he is a most fearless and positive person. An incident will illustrate the man, and it is an incident as uncommon as it is striking. He gave a client some advice about a deed that proved, after a stubborn litigation, to be unsustainable by the Courts. Several thousand dollars of property were lost. As soon as he was able to do so, Col. Lester handed his client a







HON. RUFUS E. LESTER,  
PRESIDENT OF THE GEORGIA SENATE.



check for the amount, and thus re-imbursed his loss. It was a noble act of punctilious professional integrity, and it indicated an uncommon man.

One of the richest characters of that racy era, was Dr. Sam Bard. It will be long before Georgia will ever see his like. There was an unction about this dramatic comedian of the press that we shall never have again in Georgia journalism. It is difficult to portray the man. He was very clever and companionable and had a perennial sweetness of temper in conducting the most muddy discussions. He revelled in the *coup-d'état*. His surprises were bouncing. He shot them upon the State with a luscious enjoyment. His political flops were something piquant. From the very heart of an advanced radicalism, he became without a note of warning a quadruple-dyed Democrat. His mastery of vituperative paragraphing was unequalled. The governorship of Idaho tickled his ambitious fancy, but that remote wild could not seduce him from the more civilized territory of the Atlanta post office, whose emoluments he enjoyed for the industriously claimed distinction of having been the pioneer in nominating Grant for President. He was one of the most typical blossoms of reconstruction, whose unctuous memory will linger long with the journalists of that day.

The momentous action of this Legislature, that had a larger consequence following it than any other, and that was the immediate cause of the imposition of a new installment of this ever-shifting reconstruction upon the State, was the expulsion of the negro members. The question of the ineligibility of colored men to hold office under the new Constitution, was first sprung by Mr. Candler, and in his resolution he quoted that Gov. Brown favored this view. The issue was a vital one and evoked a protracted and heated discussion. The debate upon it continued until the early part of September. A number of the white Republicans sided with the Democrats in this matter. The vote in the House stood 83 to 23, and in the Senate 24 to 11. Some of the speeches were very unique affairs. The subject provoked a picturesque variety of eloquence. The following rare quotation from the speech of Hon. W. M. Tumlin will afford a vivid conception of the lively range of this discursive discussion:

"Common-sense, common reason, the welfare of the black race and of the white race, require every thinking man to turn them out. The Constitution of the State of Georgia says turn them out. The Constitution of the United States, with all its damnable amendments, says turn them out. Therefore, Sir, if we fail to comply with the solemn oath we have subscribed to, when this House is the judge of the qualification of its members, by retaining men here who are clearly ineligible, we will be held to account for it by our constituency and our God."



A colored member, Romulus Moore, made an exceedingly clear statement of his claims to his seat, and closed with the use of the following unique assertion:

"If God is pleased with the Constitutional amendment, you can't change it—you can't change it unless you can overcome the armies of the United States."

Another colored member, G. H. Clower, is thus reported:

"Whenever you cast your votes against us, dis nigger will take his hat and walk right straight out, but, like Christ, I shall come again. I go to prepare a place for them. Stop, Democrats; stop, white folks! Draw de resolution off de table, and let's go to work."

Gov. Bullock sent in a message to the House of Representatives, stating who had received the next highest number of votes, and arguing against the expulsion of the colored members. He thus wound up his message:

"In conclusion I most respectfully and earnestly call upon you, as lovers of our common country, and well-wishers of the peace and good order of the State, to pause in the suicidal course upon which you have entered, urged on, as you are, by bold, bad men outside your body, whose wicked counsels have once drenched our land in blood, and whose ambition now is to ruin that which they cannot rule."

The House promptly passed a resolution offered by Mr. Duncan of Houston, rebuking the Governor for interfering in a matter in which the House was, by the Constitution, made the sole judge. Gov. Bullock had an unexampled opportunity, during his term, to have made himself a great name and a desirable fame. He had borne a good record before and during the war. He came into politics in a convulsion, and by espousing the strong side, obtained a high trust. Had he have made himself the Executive of the people, and not of a party, he would soon have overcome the prejudices of the Democrats. But he played the partisan to the full, and it became a no-quarter war between him and the Democracy. He soon dissolved his reliance upon the counsel of such men as Gov. Brown, and pursued the advice of the worst men of his party. He had plenty of provocation, for the Democrats were unsparing and implacable. The writer of this volume took editorial charge of the *Atlanta Constitution* newspaper in May, 1869, and conducted that journal's politics during the whole turbulent period until Gov. Bullock resigned and became a fugitive from the State, and was therefore in close and responsible watchfulness and criticism of Gov. Bullock's administration. Never making Gov. Bullock's acquaintance in that time, and viewing his régime solely on its official merits, without any prejudice whatever against him, and never failing to commend





what was worthy of approval, the retrospection of his term of Executive incumbency shows an administration with little to redeem it.

It is also equally due to truth to say that Gov. Bullock was fired by the unceasing hostility of a relentless opposition. How far an implacable warfare can justify an official in acts that call for censure, an impartial public judgment must decide for itself. Gov. Bullock was undoubtedly stimulated by the fever of an acrimonious strife to much of his course that deserves condemnation. He stood faithfully to some very bad colleagues, and adhered manfully to his side with eyes closed to moral considerations or physical consequences. There is no denying that he showed gameness and fidelity.

The legislature ousted twenty-five colored Representatives and two Senators, and seated in their places the same number of white Democrats. There were very strong young men among the substituted members, among them J. R. Saussy and Thomas W. Grimes. Mr. Saussy was a fine young lawyer from Chatham county, a gentleman of sprightly humor, with an industrious energy and a vigorous intelligence. He had worked into a large law practice in a city noted for its able bar. Mr. Grimes has been a State Senator since, and is now the Solicitor General of his circuit. He has shown an exceptional degree of political independence, resigning his seat in the legislature to test popular sentiment upon one of his measures, and winning a re-election by a handsome majority. The incident is a rare one for so young a legislator, and demonstrated his positive character. Both these gentlemen, as many others of the new members, became valuable legislators.

Col. John Jones, the Treasurer, removed by Gen. Meade, made a report to this General Assembly, showing that he had taken with, in removal, \$426,704.27 of the State's money, every dollar of which he accounted for, principally in payment upon the public debt. Col. Jones makes these interesting statements in connection with this novel chapter of Georgia reconstruction:

"In these transactions I am aware that I have incurred the high displeasure of some, and aroused the suspicions of others; and I was satisfied in the beginning that such would be the case; but having taken an oath to obey the laws under which I was elected, and given heavy bonds for the performance of the duties of my office, I conscientiously felt that I had no right, while reason and honesty of purpose were vouchsafed to me, to act otherwise. Not the least gratifying circumstance since my removal has been, that although it was deemed imperative that I should be removed, I have been allowed and trusted by the Commanding-General and Provisional Governor Reger, to carry out the course I had adopted, and preserve the credit and honor of the State, up to the surrender of the government to the civil authorities.



"My personal intercourse with the provisional officers has been as pleasant, as under the extraordinary state of things, could be expected, and their bearing towards me has been ever that of gentlemen to one for whom they entertain sincere respect. Their kindness will not be forgotten, nor shall they ever feel that their sympathy has been misplaced."

In the month of September, during this session of the General Assembly, occurred an incident that created great excitement, not only in Georgia but over the whole country, and that contributed a large quota of political capital to the Republican campaigns. There has been no stock in trade so serviceable to the Republican party as the fabrication of Southern outrages upon Union men and negroes. The heaviest indictment made against Gov. Bullock was for his part in this so-called "slander mill" business. From all parts of Georgia were gathered absolutely incredible accounts of white brutality to the black, and Gov. Bullock gave these dark narratives the whole sanction of his official place. The incident alluded to was the first important episode of so-called Southern outrage.

The facts were these: A body of armed negroes, headed by a man named William R. Pierce, the Republican candidate for Congress, John Murphy and a man named F. F. Putney, approached Camilla, Mitchell county, to hold a public meeting. The sheriff, M. J. Poore, notified the parties that they must not hold a meeting with armed men. They persisted, a collision ensued and seven persons were killed and forty wounded. Gov. Bullock, in reporting the matter to the Legislature, asserted that the right to peacefully assemble had been "violently and barbarously impaired," and the civil officers of Mitchell county were wholly unable to maintain peace. He urged the Legislature to call on the President for troops to protect the citizens. Gov. Bullock's attempt to throw the blame of this affair upon the white Democrats evoked much indignation. The arming of the negroes over the State was a notorious fact, creating alarm and foreshadowing trouble. Gov. Bullock had issued his proclamation upon this matter, adroitly ascribing what he called "the rapid spread of a disposition on the part of those who maintain the validity of the laws of Congress, and of the state governments established thereunder, to protect themselves by arms," to acts of violence by "persons distinguished for their hostility to the government of the United States."

With an ingenious subtlety that stirred a deep resentment, his proclamation was leveled at those citizens supposed to interfere with "the constitutional right of persons to assemble for political or other peaceful purpose," while for the illegal armed bodies he merely communicated



the information that no authority had been granted for such organizations which were unlawful.

The legislature properly declared that "the civil authorities had shown themselves able to execute the law, and there was no necessity for any military interference." Mr. Marion Bethune made a minority report that presented some very truthful reflections. He argued that it was apparent that the people were inflamed and divided, and he urged all parties to meet on a common ground and endeavor to provide some measure that will give peace and rest to the excited public mind.

The legislature adjourned on the 5th of October, 1868. The committee on the State of the Republic made a report written by the chairman, Hon. I. E. Shumate, which was regarded as a masterly and statesman-like paper, and portrayed the political status of the white people of the State admirably. It reviewed the various steps of reconstruction with philosophical temper; it deprecated any attempt to antagonize the races, and it declared the purpose of the whites to protect the black in his rights. The style of this document was singularly felicitous and forcible. The members who took the places of the ousted negroes presented, through Mr. Saussy, a gold watch and chain to Hon. Wm. M. Tumlin, as the one to whom was mainly due the credit of this famous expurgation of the blacks. A colored convention was held in Macon, presided over by H. M. Turner, consisting of 136 delegates, from eighty-two counties, which started the movement that ultimately ended in another reconstruction of the State.

This colored convention was an important and a very melodramatic body. It held closed meetings, excluding white men. In nothing was it more remarkable than its bitter characterization of the white Radicals who had voted for their repulsion from the General Assembly. There were some venomous and incendiary speeches, but these unlettered men went to work to do their business of retribution and recovery of their privileges in an extraordinarily practical way. Turner made a strong speech, declaring he would break up the legislature. He welded his sable hearers in a solid purpose. Committees were appointed for various duties, among them to memorialize Congress, and get up reports of outrages and murders.

There was something peculiarly suggestive in the assembling and deliberations of this colored convention. Mr. Marion Bethune, in his minority report on the Camilla riot, most felicitously stated the feelings of the poor race in these words :

“It must be apparent to the most indifferent observer, that the negro feels disappointed,





and is exasperated in failing to obtain the political rights and privileges that he anticipated under our new Constitution; whilst, on the other hand, much the larger portion of the white people feel that he is claiming privileges, and aspiring to positions which he is totally unfit to occupy, and which they regard as degrading to the white race. Therefore, it is but natural that each party should feel a deep and abiding interest in the result of the approaching election, as each regards the success of their party as an important step in settling the dispute in their favor."

Deeply chagrined and incensed at the deprivation of the right to hold office, the colored leaders, deserted in this valued matter by their white allies, for the first and only time in the protracted play of Reconstruction, self-reliantly took the bit in their own mouths and organized for a race victory. Against the whites they stood in an unqualified opposition. And they whipped their fight. Illiterate, crude in politics and farcical in aspect, they drove to triumph.

Every effort made by the white people to stop the rush of reconstruction but ended in failure and enlarged the imposition of severities. The most heroic and white-motived resistance to revolutionary innovations not only riveted them the tighter but brought new savagery. Every stand for principle simply clinched the changes opposed, and wrought superadded alterations. Whatever the motive the men like Gov. Brown, who counseled acquiescence, saw in the ultimate result a strong vindication of their foresight.

The Democratic electors beat the Republican electors, H. P. Farrow, A. T. Akerman, T. M. Smith, John Murphy, E. J. Higbee, W. H. Whitehead, J. E. Bryant, S. C. Johnson and J. L. Dunning, by a majority of 44,638 in a vote of 158,596. The highest Democratic vote was 101,786, and Republican 57,195.

The following judges were nominated by Gov. Bullock, and confirmed by the Senate: Supreme Court—Chief Justice, Joseph E. Brown; Associate Justices, H. K. McCay and Hiram Warner. Superior Court—J. R. Parrott, Cherokee Circuit; C. W. Davis, Western; Garnett Andrews, Northern; C. B. Cole, Macon; J. R. Alexander, Southern; D. B. Harrell, Pataula; James M. Clark, South-western; J. W. Greene, Flint; J. D. Pope, Coweta; William Gibson, Middle; P. B. Robinson, Ocmulgee; N. B. Knight, Blue Ridge; William Schley, Eastern; J. S. Bigby, Tallapoosa.

There was a tremendous pressure brought against the acceptance of office at the hands of Gov. Bullock, and in that day, the purest men who did take position, were exposed to animadversion. And many whom Gov. Bullock appointed, were deterred by a fear of public opinion from assuming trusts in which they could have benefited the people.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### GOV. BULLOCK'S DESPERATE ENDEAVOR TO RE-ENACT RECONSTRUCTION.

The Evil Effect of the Black Expulsion.—Its Cue to Congress.—Nelson Tift.—Bullock's Obloquy.—Wholesale Aspersions of the State.—Our Rulers Seeking the State's Crucifixion.—Georgia at the Presidential Count.—An Exciting Scene.—Ben. Butler and Wade.—Submitting Negro Eligibility to the Courts.—W. P. Price.—Dunlap Scott.—Senator Winn.—Bullock's Vetoes.—The Fifteenth Amendment.—The Republicans Defeat It.—W. D. Anderson.—Foster Blodgett.—"Inflict Negro Suffrage on the d— Yankees."—State Aid.—The Battle between Bullock and Angier.—The Capitol Question.—Bullock's Illegal Advance to Kimball.—Committee Reports Condemning Bullock.—The Proposition to buy the Capitol.—Postponed.—Phillips' Resolution on O'Neal.—Republican Convention.—The Supreme Court Decide Negroes Eligible.—Bullock in Washington working for more Reconstruction.—The Bureau of Immigration.—The State Fair.—The State Road.—State Troubles.—Negro Disorders.—Bullock and Angier again.—Chief Justice Brown's Good Work.—Angier's Valuable Services.

THE expulsion of the negro members from the Georgia legislature had an immediate effect for evil. It renewed the fell spirit of Reconstruction. It blew the slumbering coals of race conflict into a lively flame. It was a sad error, viewed in the light of its results. It bred trouble immediately. It gave fuel to the expiring fire of sectional strife. It was to the northern mind the use of the first note of conceded peace to declare war. It was as if an unshackled prisoner utilized his initial moment of freedom to strike his releasing captor.

Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, early in December, introduced a bill in the United States Senate declaring that Georgia should be reconstructed. The implacable Reconstruction Committee of Congress took the matter in hand. Gov. Bullock went before this potential junta, none the less proscriptive because Thad. Stevens was dead, and recommended the reorganization of the Georgia legislature upon the basis of the enforcement of the test oath, which would re-instate the negroes and put the General Assembly "in the hands of loyal men." Senator Edmunds offered a bill repealing the restoration of Georgia to the Union, and remitting the State back to Provisional Tyranny. This measure revived the military governorship. Our Senators, Joshua Hill and Miller were vainly knocking at the door for admission to their seats.



Six of our seven Representatives had been admitted to their seats in the House. Nelson Tift sent a circular to the Judges, Ordinaries and Mayors in Georgia, asking them to bear witness what was the obedience to law, the feeling to the blacks and northern men and Republicans, the desire for peace, and whether there was any necessity to destroy the present State government. He held up in an odious light Gov. Bullock as seeking to remand the State government to military rule or to the dictatorship of a military Governor, with the army to enforce his edicts, on the false ground that there was lawlessness, anarchy, no protection for life or property, and a spirit of persecution of the blacks by the whites.

Little wonder that Gov. Bullock incurred a scathing obloquy in this abhorred rôle. And it was a curious reversal of positions that Bullock was seeking to uprear and demolish the régime he had so toiled to erect, while the people sought to continue the rule of Bullock, whose installation they so resisted, and whose incumbency they detested. This was another of the strange phases of this kaleidoscopic reconstruction, inexhaustible in novel developments. It evoked a deep exasperation, that because the Republicans had failed to get control of the legislature, Gov. Bullock and his allies should seek to pull down the very temple of our liberties, that from its ruins might be re-erected a full Republican structure. The regeneration had been made, and as it was not a complete Republican dynasty that was fashioned, a re-destruction was sought in order to re-mold it. Bullock had failed of complete power. To get it he was willing to even undo his own work, strike down the state government, and remit a great commonwealth to bayonet despotism. And the worst feature of it was that the weapon of this new annihilation of state autonomy was the wholesale ascription of a brutal lawlessness to an entire commonwealth.

This whole inexcusable attempt at the political re-crucifixion of a great state is a matter of cold, official fact. The journals of the Legislature of 1869, contain Gov. Bullock's address to the United States Congress on the 7th of December, 1868, as the Executive of Georgia, gravely declaring that Georgia in her reconstruction had not complied with the laws of Congress, that there was no "adequate protection for life and property, the maintenance of peace and good order, and the free expression of political opinion," and asking congressional interference with the restored sovereignty of the state whose exalted chief magistracy he held.

This endeavor of our own Executive to drag down the state govern-





ment, to dethrone its majesty, and make it a dependent military province aroused a terrible indignation. It was a frightful commentary upon the evil times that our rulers were men who, in their personal ambitions, were willing to sport with the august sovereignty of the state, and degrade the very power they wielded. It was a novel experience in Georgia annals to see an Executive seeking the humiliation of his own commonwealth, and that by the calumny of her honor. The spirit that would invite the rude hand of inimical power to crush our liberties and dominate us with despotism, rather than witness another political party control one of the branches of our state government, was something so unnatural that the people of Georgia regarded it with the same horror that they would have given to the crime of a parricide. All good men felt that no lover of his country would attempt such an unpatriotic and unholy work.

The action of the Georgia Legislature in expelling the negro members continued an absorbing subject of public discussion, not only in the State, but over the whole country. The press of the North, and Congress chattered incessantly over it. There were many lively scenes that it provoked. Congress was kept in an acrimonious turmoil. When the Presidential vote was counted on the 10th of February, 1869, Ben. Butler objected to counting the Georgia ballot. Wade said his view was that Georgia's vote should be counted if it would not alter the result, and should not be counted if it would, a decision received with shouts of laughter. A wild confusion ensued. Ben. Wade, presiding over the joint session, ordered the Senate to its own chamber. The House voted 150 to 41 against Georgia being counted. The Senate, after a lively struggle, decided in favor of Georgia. The joint session was resumed, and the conflict was fierce. Wade ordered Georgia's vote read. Butler objected. Wade refused to hear objections. Butler appealed from Wade's decision. Wade refused an appeal and ordered the count to proceed. Butler moved that the Senate have permission to retire. He was declared out of order. Butler demanded that the House should control its own hall. Wade, in the midst of an intense excitement, ordered the count to proceed. Conkling began reading the result, but his voice was drowned by cries of order. In the deafening clamor Speaker Colfax sprang to the desk, saying the Vice-President must be obeyed in joint session, and ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms to arrest disorderly persons. Order was sufficiently restored to read the result, when the joint session terminated.

Butler offered a resolution denouncing the action of Wade and the



Senate. Davis introduced a resolution in the Senate declaring the conduct of Butler and other members disreputable, and an insult to the people of the United States. Butler and Bingham had a bitter debate over Butler's resolution. Bingham denounced it as a resolution of revolution and anarchy. While Georgia was thus stirring up the country, she was having an equally lively time at home. The Legislature met on the 13th of January, 1869. Gov. Bullock's message dealt mainly with the disturbing problem of negro expulsion. He insisted on the Legislature undoing its work, and again assailed the order of the State. The Democrats themselves divided upon the line of policy. Nelson Tift, one of our Congressmen, telegraphed that Grant, the President elect, favored the policy of submitting the matter to the courts. W. P. Price introduced a resolution to this effect. It evoked a warm discussion. Such men as Dunlap Scott opposed it. He proposed to stick to the expulsion. While he was speaking, an incident occurred that was much remarked upon at the time. Speeches were limited to fifteen minutes. When Scott had spoken ten minutes, the clock stopped, stood still thirty minutes, and started again just as he was closing. But Price's resolution passed. Mr. Adkins introduced a resolution to re-seat the negroes. Some idea may be formed of the spirit of the Legislature from the following remarks of Senator Winn on Adkins' bill.

"Mr. President:—The Senator from the nineteenth, since the expulsion of the negro, looks like 'Patience on a monument smiling at grief.' He wants that delicious aroma so needful to his comfort.

" 'Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled,  
You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,  
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.' "

Cries of "order" were heard, and the President decided the remarks personal and out of order. To the astonishment of all, Gov. Bullock vetoed the resolution of Mr. Price, submitting the eligibility of negroes to hold office to the courts. The resolution did not go far enough for him. He was for ripping up the whole organization, and not only re-seating the negroes, but purging the Legislature of men who could not take the test oath. And to add to the perplexities of the situation, Congress was discussing the expulsion of our representatives from their seats.

The Fifteenth Amendment was passed by Congress and came before the Georgia Legislature in a special message of Gov. Bullock, on the 10th of March, 1869. The action upon this measure, which enforced



negro suffrage, was strangely complicated, and on the part of Gov. Bullock and his allies in the movement of securing another reconstruction of the State, suggestively disingenuous. Both Democrats and Republicans split upon it. Gov. Bullock was charged by Republicans with withholding the amendment from the Legislature as long as possible, and with recommending its passage in such taunting language as would drive the Democrats from its support. His policy was said to be, to secure its defeat in order to aid his project of further reconstruction. The charge against him was flatly made, by the more moderate Republicans, of duplicity in making it appear at Washington that he favored the amendment, while he privately worked to prevent its passage.

The votes in both branches strongly confirm these accusations. In the House, 25 Republicans on the first action, when the amendment was carried, voted for the amendment, 4 against it, and 24 dodged a vote, including Gov. Bullock's fast friends, Adkins, Tweedy, O'Neal and others. On the motion in the House to reconsider, the next day, which was carried, 17 of these dodgers voted for reconsideration. In the House a majority of Republicans thus defeated this Republican measure. In the Senate, 13 Republicans, including President Conley, voted for the indefinite postponement of the amendment, and 6 against. Upon a reconsideration of the indefinite postponement, 8 Republicans voted for the passage of the amendment, 8 voted against it, and 8 dodged, and the amendment was defeated by a Republican Senate, after it had passed first a Democratic House. Gov. Bullock's friends voted against it, and many of his appointees electioneered against its passage.

The Democrats were equally divided. The leverage given to the enemies of the State by the expulsion of the negro members had created a reaction, and the more conservative of the Democrats had come to the conclusion that it was wiser to promptly perform disagreeable necessities. There was some spirited discussion over the matter and some feeling speeches against it. The vote first stood in the House seventy-four and sixty-nine against the amendment. Mr. Anderson of Cobb voiced the conservative view in voting for the measure with this explanatory remark.

"Mr. Speaker:—Passion, prejudice and pride say vote, 'No': wisdom and responsibility say vote, 'Yes.'"

Of the Democrats 42 in the House voted for the Amendment and 56 against. In the Senate 5 Democrats voted for and 9 against the amendment on its final defeat. The picture of inconsistency as to this amendment is not complete without recalling the fact that





Foster Blodgett, Gov. Bullock's Achates, visited Washington, and in a conversation with Grant, the President, predicted that the Democrats in the Georgia Legislature would support the Fifteenth Amendment "for the purpose of inflicting negro suffrage in turn on the d— Yankees." The occasion of this visit to Washington was in company with H. M. Turner and J. M. Simms, two of the expelled negro members of the Georgia Legislature, to present the resolutions of the Colored Convention in Macon, to which allusion has been made.

The Legislature adjourned on the 18th of March, 1869. This body had granted State aid to seven railroads, covering millions of dollars. Heavy assaults had been made upon Gov. Bullock's management of the state finances. A legislative joint committee appointed to look into the matter of which M. A. Candler was Chairman of the Senate portion, and O. G. Sparks of the House, reported censuring Gov. Bullock for various unauthorized acts. They charged that over \$32,000 was drawn on unauthorized warrants. They rasped Gov. Bullock for inaugurating the expensive and needless practice of generally publishing proclamations of pardon, and appointments of county inspectors of fertilizers, this waste already running to over \$10,000. They condemned large extra pay to salaried officers, running to \$4,421.

The most animated financial battle of that day was between Gov. Bullock and Treasurer N. L. Angier over an advance made by the Governor of some \$31,000 to H. I. Kimball, to heat and fix up the present capitol building. This difficulty between Dr. Angier and Gov. Bullock became more rancorous with the passage of time, and had a material effect upon subsequent events. The war between these two officials was an important episode of that day, and involved large public consequences. It broke the unity of Gov. Bullock's administration. It made a formidable breach in the Republican ranks, and it furnished the Democrats substantial help in fighting the excesses of that damaging rule. This trouble will involve some allusion to the change of the capital from Milledgeville to Atlanta, and the purchase of the capitol building, that have given rise to so much public agitation.

When the Constitutional convention of 1868 was in session, the city of Atlanta made the proposition that if the capital should be located in this city, the City Council agreed to furnish to the State, free of cost, for the space of ten years if needed, suitable buildings for the General Assembly, for the residence of the Governor, and for all the offices needed by such officers as are generally located in the State House, and all suitable rooms for the State library and for the Supreme Court.



The city further agreed to donate to the State of Georgia, the Fair Grounds, containing twenty-five acres, as a location for the capitol, or in lieu thereof, any unoccupied ten acres of ground in the city that might be selected by the General Assembly as a more appropriate place for the capitol and Governor's mansion.

The convention, by resolution passed February 27, 1868, accepted this proposition, and in the Constitution placed an article making Atlanta the seat of government. On the 24th of August, 1868, the City Council of Atlanta rented from E. N. Kimball, for \$6,000 a year, for five years, certain parts of the present capitol building, for the use of the State, and by resolution tendered to the State the said rented premises. Mr. Kimball bound himself to have the building ready for the State by the second Tuesday in January, 1869. This building was a brick shell that had been started for an opera house, and the project had fallen through. The contract made with Mr. Kimball by the City Council did not cover the heating and lighting. Instead of exacting of the City Council the fulfillment of its contract, Gov. Bullock, from October to December, 1868, advanced to H. I. Kimball \$31,000 of the State's money to heat, furnish, carpet, paint, and light the building, without reporting said advances to the State Treasurer. In September, 1868, the Legislature had tabled a resolution in regard to heating the structure. The City Council of Atlanta regarded their contract with E. N. Kimball as complying with their offer to the State.

Treasurer Angier reported the matter to the Legislature, in response to a resolution calling for the facts about the State bonds. This report drew from Gov. Bullock a tart message, charging upon Dr. Angier "a malicious attempt to discredit the integrity of the Executive." The finance committee was authorized to examine the matter. A majority and minority report were made. Gov. Brown's opinion was asked, as to the propriety of expenditures without authority of law by the Executive. He replied that the practice had been for the Executive in the past, in pressing emergencies that warranted it, to pay the State's money without appropriation, honestly and judiciously for the public service, but that in all such cases the Governor should be prepared to assume the responsibility if the legislature should disapprove his act. The majority report, signed by W. H. F. Hall, chairman, declared that there was no legal or urgent necessity for such expenditure, while the Governor's motives are not questioned. The minority report, signed by A. S. Fowler, O. G. Sparks and six others, is a sharp, sententious, plain-talking document. It declared the expenditures



unauthorized, reckless extravagance, and without precedent. It commented upon the fact that there had been ample time to explain the transaction, and no itemized bill of particulars had been furnished; that costly heating, lighting and furniture was not contemplated by either the city or state for a temporary capitol. The House adopted the minority report by a large majority.

The altercation between Dr. Angier and Gov. Bullock grew very bitter. Gov. Bullock charged upon Dr. Angier that he had drawn interest on the public funds, receiving \$356. Dr. Angier showed that he received less interest because the bank had loaned Gov. Bullock \$17,000 on his private account. The City Council of Atlanta proposed to confer with a joint committee to settle the liability for the \$31,000. Gov. Bullock, in transmitting this request, stated in his message that he thought the City Council was responsible for the expense, and that if he had failed to incur that cost, the Legislature would not have had a proper place to assemble. The resolution to appoint a committee was passed. The committee had a conference with the City Council of Atlanta. The committee reported a proposition for the City to pay \$100,000 towards the purchase of the Kimball Opera House for a permanent capitol, and recommended that the State appropriate \$200,000 in interest bearing seven per cent. bonds for the balance of the purchase money, the Kimballs to refund the State the \$31,000, thus costing the State \$169,000. This proposition was not acted upon, but postponed, and the Legislature adjourned. This building was the subject of continued trouble, which will be hereafter noted.

There will never in the history of Georgia be a parallel to this General Assembly. Some of its incidents seem incredible. On the 17th of February, Mr. Phillips, of Echols county, stands responsible for the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That the publication which appears in the New Era of this morning, that the Hon. J. W. O'Neal was drunk on yesterday, is infamously false, and it is due to the country and to this House that it be so branded, and should meet with the prompt condemnation of all lovers of good whisky in the present General Assembly."*

The report goes on to say that after a warm discussion the resolution was withdrawn. A Republican convention was held in Atlanta on the 5th of March, 1869. Hon. Ben. Conley was made President. The resolutions adopted were harsh, referring to "rebel-democratic rowdies," and declaring that the State was as practically under the control of those who spurn the Federal government as it was during the rebellion. A committee was appointed of Foster Blodgett, P. M. Sheibley, H. P.





Farrow, J. W. Clift, J. M. Simms, J. T. Costin and H. M. Turner to go to Washington to urge Congress to "carry out the desire of this convention."

In June, 1869, the Supreme Court, Judge Warner dissenting, decided in the case of Richard W. White, a colored man, elected Clerk of the Superior Court of Chatham county, that negroes were eligible to office in Georgia. This decision raised the question as to whether the Legislature should re-seat the colored members who were expelled. Gen. A. R. Wright, editor of the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, sent a circular letter to the leading men of the State, asking their views upon this question. There was a pretty unanimous opinion among the Democrats that new elections should be ordered. The subject engaged the public mind to a very general and intense degree. Hon. A. H. Stephens, Judge Wm. B. Fleming, Col. Warren Akin, Judge J. W. H. Underwood, Gen. A. R. Lawton, Thomas E. Lloyd, Judge E. J. Harden, Junius Hillyer, Col. Crawford and others, supported the position taken by the *Atlanta Constitution* that the decision of the Supreme Court should be obeyed, but the parliamentary method would be to have an election to fill the vacancies.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Legislature, Gov. Bullock went on to Washington, and endeavored to take advantage of the failure of the Georgia General Assembly to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, a failure due as has been stated to his own Republican friends in that body, to secure further reconstruction of the State. But no plan was desired by him except one that purged the Legislature of Democrats under the test oath. The mere re-seating of the negroes would not satisfy these destructionists, because that still left them without control of the Legislature. Every effort was made to get the Butler bill through Congress before adjournment, but Nelson Tift and P. M. B. Young and others succeeded in blocking this game. The weapon that was most potential in preventing the success of this measure of continued reconstruction was the passage by both branches of the Legislature of Georgia of the resolution to test the negro eligibility issue in the State Supreme Court, which Gov. Bullock vetoed, to destroy its effect in preventing his schemes. Congress adjourned without interference with Georgia, and he and his allies returned home baffled, but not defeated. During the summer and fall of 1869 every preparation was made for renewing the baleful design of re-dismantling the good old State.

During this year a number of important State matters transpired. A



bureau of immigration was established, and George N. Lester was made Home Commissioner, and Samuel Weil, Foreign Commissioner. The sum of \$10,000 was appropriated. The printing was limited to \$3,000. The salary of Col. Lester was \$2,000 and Mr. Weil \$3,000. Faithful efforts were made by both commissioners, but owing to the persistent and rancorous Republican slanders against the good order of the State, no good was accomplished, and Col. Lester, finding his office unavailing for benefit, resigned it before the expiration of his two years' term. Col. Weil returned from Europe after fourteen months absence, bringing his niece with him, and there was a good deal of raillery among the anti-immigration men over the alleged harvest of one immigrant as the result of this elaborate scheme of State immigration. The report of this attempt at immigration showed that Col. Weil had received \$3,000 salary, and spent \$1,520 for printing; Col. Lester received \$2,598 salary, and spent \$500 for printing. Weil's expenses exceeded his salary, and Lester's were nearly one-half of salary.

The State fair at Macon, in October, 1869, was largely attended by distinguished Northern gentlemen. A negro labor convention was held in Macon in October, to organize a union to control prices of labor. The leading spirits in this body were Jeff. Long and H. M. Turner. An immense Southern Commercial convention was held in Louisville, Ky., of which Mr. Fillmore was president. Georgia was largely represented by such men as V. A. Gaskill, A. D. Nunnally, D. E. Butler, H. W. Hilliard, B. C. Yancey, R. H. Chilton, A. Hood, C. Howell and some seventy others. There were committees on every conceivable subject of practical utility, immigration, a Southern Pacific, Mississippi Levees, Agriculture, Manufacture of Cotton, direct trade, and other kindred matters. Some sarcastic journal epitomized the work of the convention in the satirical summary, that its chief result was the resurrection of the buried Fillmore to build continental railways by resolutions.

Col. Hulburt had made a fair administration of the State road, paying in to the State Treasury pretty regularly, \$25,000 a month. He had an undoubted genius for the practical development of public resources. His ideas of the necessity and value of cheap coal and iron were far in advance of the time. He steadily worked for these great ends. He was an earnest champion of the Georgia Western road that Gen. Gordon has at last put under way. But Hulburt was handicapped by his connection with the Republican registration and his "Sharp and Quick" repute. Even then it was said that Foster Blodgett, who was treasurer of the State road under Hulburt, was striving



to supplant him as superintendent, a change that did soon come, and that was followed by a year of the most reckless and wholesale mismanagement and extravagance that ever marked the administration of a public trust.

During this year there was a legitimate outcome of the pernicious Republican tampering with the colored race. A frightful negro riot occurred near Savannah, on the Ogeechee, where the man A. A. Bradley had sway. Col. R. W. Flourney, a Democratic member of the Legislature, a bright young citizen, was murdered by negroes. Mr. Charles Wallace, editor of the Warrenton *Clipper*, was assassinated, and Dr. G. W. Darden, a noted Republican, arrested and in jail for the atrocious murder, was shot.

In reviewing that period, with all the bad influences at work upon the ignorant colored race, and the unspeakable provocation against the whites, one is surprised that there was not more violence. The radical régime of that day stimulated the blacks to deviltry, and fired the whites to a righteous exasperation. And the natural resentment of honest Democrats was evoked and used as the intended weapon of their political injury. We had suffered enough, and should have been near our redemption. But the end was far off, and mockeries were to be enacted that were to surpass even the previous shocking experiences of this monstrous reconstruction.

The warfare between Gov. Bullock and Treasurer Angier continued, growing daily more embittered. The Governor brought heavy suits against the treasurer. Gen. Alfred A. Terry had been assigned to military command in Georgia, to aid in preserving order. He was invoked as a pacificator between these two belligerents. He had made peace between Gov. Bullock and the *New Era*, which, under Dr. Bard, had been warring upon His Excellency. The truth is that there was a decided schism in the Republican ranks, growing out of Bullock's resolute proclivity to a rehash of reconstruction. The more patriotic men of that party rebelled against it. And no man wielded a more powerful influence in antagonizing and eventually thwarting the ultimate phases of this partisan monstrosity than Chief Justice Brown. His whole course was simply acceptance of only necessary and inevitable terms of evil, and condemnation of every gratuitous abomination. From all the unholy crusades of the Bullock dynasty he kept firmly aloof, and this when he was cruelly bespattered and falsely classed as one of the common enemy.

Dr. Angier wrote a letter to the *Federal Union* in September, stating





that Gov. Bullock had paid \$12,000 out of the State treasury as retainers to lawyers, \$9,000 of it in the last thirty days, of which \$1,500 was to F. S. Fitch, the editor of a Griffin paper, besides large amounts to the Attorney General, H. P. Farrow, and other amounts out of the State road funds. He also charged that Gov. Bullock was offering excessive amounts, from one to five thousand dollars of rewards. In December, Dr. Angier wrote to one of the members of the Reconstruction Committee of Congress, in reply to a letter, stating that in the teeth of two adverse and condemnatory reports of a legislative committee upon his advance of \$31,000 to the Kimballs on the opera house building, he had made a further illegal advance to the Kimballs, on the same account, of \$20,000 since the Legislature adjourned. Dr. Angier charged that to cover these unlawful amounts, Gov. Bullock had hypothecated seven per cent. State Railroad mortgage bonds, that under the law were to be issued only in renewal of bonds then due. He further charged that Gov. Bullock exhausted the contingent fund of \$20,000 in less than six months, and under a vague "India rubber blanket" section of the appropriation act, he had drawn nearly \$100,000, the greater part in the way of patronage to buy influence.

There is no doubt that Dr. Angier was the most hurtful opponent that Gov. Bullock had, and the people of Georgia owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the revelations he made. It was indeed a fortunate antagonism for the State, this angry combat between the Executive and Treasurer. All efforts to heal it failed. The writer, then conducting the *Atlanta Constitution* newspaper, the leading Democratic journal at the seat of government, and while striving to do even-tempered justice to Gov. Bullock, yet thundering daily at the palpable wrongs of his administration, was under obligation to Treasurer Angier for many a valuable piece of information that served materially the public welfare.

Gov. Bullock struck fiercely at Dr. Angier to crush him. He tried to break him down with heavy prosecutions, and sought a mandamus to make him pay refused warrants. But the game Treasurer stood undauntedly to his fight, and the ponderous blows he dealt the Executive, resounded over the State, and brought him many a glad acclaim from the grateful tax-payers.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### A BURNING CHAPTER OF FOLLY AND SHAME.

The most notable Events of Georgia History.—Gov. Bullock Then and Now.—His Plan for Another Reconstruction.—The Central Radical Committee.—A Cruel Proclamation.—The State Indicted by Her Executive.—The Slander Mill.—The Writer's Editorial Then.—The Fifteenth Amendment Hanging on Georgia's Vote.—"The Gospel of Anarchy."—Bullock in Congress.—The New Reconstruction.—Bullock's Rejoicing.—The Georgia Legislature.—Farrow's Opinion.—Intimidation.—Chief Justice Brown's Patriotic Course.—Opinions of Leading Men.—Thomas Harde-  
man.—Chief Justice Brown.—Warren Akin.—The Radical Committee.—Bluff.—Attorneys Employed.—The Reorganization.—J. W. G. Mills and A. L. Harris.—The Conservative Republicans Split from Bullock.—J. E. Bryan.—B. Conley.—A Bitter Speech.—Harris the Autocrat.—Bold Despotism.—Pistols Drawn.—An Astounding Turn.—Gen. Terry and His Military Board.—The Soldiers to Purge the Body.—Selling Beef Creates Ineligibility.—Five Members Kicked Out.—Nineteen Frightened Off.—Minority Men Seated.—The Speaker's Election a Vital Point.—The Bullock Men Elect McWhorter through Democratic Division and Folly.—Bullock's Victory Complete.—Bullock's Message.—A New Deal and Prolongation.—The Fight Remitted to Congress.—Bullock Goes to Washington.—A Stirring Battle.—Bullock's Discomfiture.—Prolongation Scotched.—Bullock's Bribery Investigation.—A Republican Committee Censure Him.—Hard Press Comment on Bullock.—The Georgia Legislature takes another Recess.—Bullock and Angier Investigation Committee.—Congress Admits Georgia at Last.

PERHAPS, take them all in all, the events recorded in this chapter are the most notable of Georgia history. They present a picture so novel that aftertimes will find it hard to believe the amazing reality. It seemed as if a comical fate had in pure whimsiness sought to twist every possible travesty out of the gravest concerns of state government. Seeing Gov. Bullock to-day, a quiet, autumnal figure moving in the streets of Atlanta, attending to the prosaic matters of cotton manufacture, one finds it difficult to recall the portly, gorgeous personage that in the year of our Lord, 1870, only eleven years ago, was the central power of a successful partisan crusade that dismantled our goodly State and made him autocrat of Georgia amid the unqualified abhorrence of her virtuous citizens. Reveling in a brief enjoyment of such rule as worthy men hope may never come again to a proud commonwealth of enlightened freemen, it was a stirring culmination of this dynasty of revolution to see its head, dropping the imperial authority in hot haste and for years



a hidden fugitive from criminal indictments. Repeated attempts to secure had failed, but finally the ex-Executive was brought to trial when years had effaced the bitterest memories of the time of wrong, and criminal acquittal was given after a hard forensic fight.

The proper tribunal for such public charges was an impeachment court, which was costly, ponderous and barren, and its penalty of removal from office, pointless. The career of this official is one of the marked elements of Georgia reconstruction, and the simple, unembellished record makes a striking chapter of that unique epoch.

Before Congress met in the winter of 1869, Gov. Bullock had perfected his plans for revolutionizing again our State government, that had already undergone so many shifting farces of reconstruction, that it seemed as if a grim destiny had exhausted both folly and malice in our case. On the 24th of November, a secret meeting of the Radical Executive Committee of the State was called. The Atlanta *Constitution* gave an account of the meeting that was never denied. Among those present were Bullock, Blodgett, Hulburt, Farrow, Blount, Conley, Long and others. A sub-committee, composed of Farrow, Hulburt, Conley, Jeff Long and a negro, was appointed to report on urging Congress to reconstruct Georgia again. All of this sub-committee were said to be against such action, except Mr. Conley. Majority and minority reports were made. The discussion in the main committee was said to be stormy. Through the efforts of Bullock and Blodgett, the minority recommendation of Conley was sustained. Armed with this formidable document, Gov. Bullock proceeded to Washington, to work out in person his revolutionary scheme.

Before going, however, he issued a lengthy proclamation, which he published all over the State, that both as an instrument for his destructive purpose, and as a cool, deliberate piece of premeditated malice, was never surpassed. The pronunciamento began with these venomous words:

"To the People of Georgia:—The recent renewal of active hostilities against the person and property of colored citizens and white Republicans, by the organized bands of secret assassins in certain portions of the State, seems to indicate a concert of action and a purpose on the part of said organizations to persist in defying the civil law."

With this wholesale indictment of the good order of the State, accompanied by the bold assertion, wholly unfounded, that "under the statutes at present in force, the Executive is prevented from taking active measures for the suppression of civil disorders;" he proceeded to offer five thousand dollars reward each, for the alleged





perpetrators of a long list of crimes, covering the State and including hundreds of men, and whose aggregate payment would have taken a million of dollars. And it was a significant part of the chapter of these, and a host of other like extravagant rewards so lavishly offered, by this generous-handed Executive, that the alleged criminals were so uniformly uncaught. It would be difficult to more conclusively explode the calumnies of the public peace, so malignantly used in that day as the most potential weapon of Radical success, than by this single fact.

That potential institution, the "Slander-mill," was revived in all its vigor, and outrages of every kind ground out unceasingly. The *New York Times* had an editorial on Georgia's condition that came in nicely as a help to the new crusade. And this was followed by a congratulatory letter from Gov. Bullock to that journal. Gen. Alfred H. Terry furnished his quota to the scheme in a lengthy report that the state of disorder in Georgia demanded the interposition of Congress.

The following earnest editorial of the writer in the *Atlanta Constitution*, published on the 12th of December, 1869, reflected the feeling of the good citizens of that day towards Gov. Bullock:

"Suppose that in the days when Geo. M. Troup, or any of Georgia's sons and statesmen filled her Executive Chair, the President of the United States had advised, and Congress had contemplated a blow at her sovereignty?

"Can any man doubt what would have been their course? Every sentiment of State fealty, every impulse of patriotism, would have quivered under the peril and the indignity to our beloved commonwealth. They would have been stung by the shame of the insult, as well as concerned in the damage to her welfare. Having the interest of the State at heart, identified with her honor, and alive to the weal of her great people, they would have consecrated their lives to her defense, and engaged with an unalterable heroism in her redemption.

"To-day, is seen the sad, piteous, shameful spectacle of her Executive conspiring with her enemies for the overthrow of her liberties. Plotting, scheming, bribing, truckling, maligning, toiling for her injury and abasement, he is alike blind to her sufferings, callous to her dignity, inimical to her interests.

"No state of facts can justify such an act in such an official. The people overwhelmingly differ with him on great public questions involving their welfare, not his. Yet, forsooth, because his personal views are not carried out, he leaves his duty to machinate against the people for their injury, recking nothing that the government of a million virtuous people is demolished by the act, and anarchy and the rule of ignorance substituted therefor.

"How long, Oh! Cataline!" As old as time, and stamped with the imprimatur of Holy Book, is the utterance, that when the wicked are in power their people groan in tribulation.

"Georgia is no exception. Her rulers are against her, not for her; they are seeking personal aggrandizement, not the public weal; they govern for plunder and despotic control, not for the interest of their people.



"Can Gov. Bullock wonder that he enjoys the scorn of the good? It is not nature for men to love the enemy to their liberties and their prosperity.

"He may succeed in his fell purpose, but success can bring him neither respect nor honor. It will be the triumph of reckless cupidity and unholy ambition. That man, who for personal interest can drag his country down, is a foe to humanity itself."

It was one of those mysterious strokes of evil fortune that steadily accompanied our ill-fated State in those evil days, that just at that juncture the success of the Fifteenth Amendment hinged on Georgia's vote. This stern necessity fixed our fate. Morton introduced a bill in the United States Senate to reconstruct Georgia, and making the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment the condition of admission to the Union. President Grant, in his message, recommended further tinkering with Georgia. Senator Edmunds had postponed his bill to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment in Georgia, so as to allow the new measure a chance. Representative Shanks, in the House, introduced a bill to complete reconstruction in Georgia. Bullock went before the reconstruction committee, and pressed the crucifixion of the gallant old commonwealth. The measure came up in the Senate, Bullock on the floor, urging the rape of his own State's sovereignty. He had taken expensive apartments, kept a carriage, and wine and dined with a royal prodigality. The State road had paid no money in three months into the State treasury, and the press indulged in every species of insinuation as to where the money went.

The Senate passed the despotic measure by a vote of 40 to 9. The House then passed it swiftly. Warm debates in both houses transpired. Georgia filled a large measure of the public attention. Dr. Angier's letter on Gov. Bullock's financial errors was sprung in Congress, and staggered a number of the supporters of the measure. Trumbull and Thurman both fought the bill, and also Mr. Bayard. The *New York World's* report said:

"While Mr. Bayard was speaking, the author of all this rascality was sitting on a sofa in the Senate, with folded arms and dramatic style, but he changed position repeatedly, wandered about uneasily, and finally took a seat by Mr. Morton. Bullock is a large, portly, vulgar-looking man of about fifty-five, wears a full, reddish beard, and a large neck-tie, with long, projecting ends."

The correspondent of the *Augusta Chronicle* thus wrote:

"Bullock has been lying around the Senate chamber all day, and seemed to be greatly interested in the discussion. Between the acts he has been gorging himself with the Senators in the lunch-room, or restaurant in the Senate. He is still going it with a high hand, and is spending somebody's money like water. He gave another supper to Congressmen and other officials, last Thursday night, which is represented to have been a most magnificent affair."



In the House there was an even warmer time than in the Senate. Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, made a speech and had Dr. Angier's letter read, stating that the "letter had been read by himself this morning, to Gov. Bullock, so he might contradict the charges if he could, but neither he nor any friend of his had successfully done so." Hon. S. S. Cox made a biting speech against the bill, declaring

"It is the gospel of anarchy, and the philosophy of dissolution."

One of the papers had this to say of Bullock's agency in the House:

"Gov. Bullock seemed, in fact, to be managing the bill in the House. He was on the floor all day, and was consulted by Butler at every stage. His presence was remarked as being about the boldest piece of lobbying ever witnessed in Congress."

The House passed the bill by 121 yeas to 51 nays. Bullock continued as accoucher to the bill, accompanying Senator Thayer, chairman of the committee on enrolled bills, to President Grant for his signature. The President signed without reading. The *National Intelligencer* published in Washington, thus records Gov. Bullock's feasting over the result:

"The celebrated *Cafe Francaise* was the scene on Wednesday night of a Bacchanalian feast, given by Gov. Bullock, in honor of his triumph over the people of Georgia, to the aiders and abettors of the scheme. Wine flowed like water, and rich viands were greedily devoured; in the midst of which the company gloated in fiendish triumph over the vengeance they had wreaked upon an unhappy and defenseless people. What mattered the expense? The people of Georgia would be made to foot this and many other bills of like nature. With his hands to the elbow in the State Treasury, Mr. Carpet-bagger Bullock can well afford to be sumptuous, and to dine and wine, and feast and flatter the men who have done his bidding on the floor of Congress. Whether or not he has inaugurated a gift enterprise, in which these servile and traitorous Congressmen are to participate, we cannot say."

The act directed the Governor of the State of Georgia by proclamation to convene the legislature. Members must be required to take an oath that they had not shared in the rebellion after holding an office, or that they had been relieved by Congress. Any one taking a false oath should be punishable for perjury. Any one hindering a member from taking the oath or acting as member after taking the oath, would commit a felony. The exclusion of members for race or color was forbidden. The Governor was authorized to call for the military. And the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment was required before senators and representatives could be admitted.

It was a curious piece of legislative inconsistency, and evoked some scathing criticism. The validity of the Fourteenth Amendment was partially resting on Georgia's ratification as a State, and yet she was declared





not a State, while the said ratification was claimed as good. The State was not allowed to be a State, and yet its ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment was sought, the act of a State, before it should become a State. Such a blaze of political incongruities will find no parallel.

Gov. Bullock called the legislature to convene on the 10th of January, 1870. In entire lack of authority from the act he signed this proclamation as "Provisional Governor." Gen. Terry was announced from Washington as commander of the district of Georgia, under the Reconstruction Acts, instead of as Department commander, in order to give him civil authority.

The action of Congress excited a profound feeling. The year 1870 began in deep gloom for the people. The apprehension of calamity was wide spread and universal. While men had become wearied in their very powers of indignation at the recurring oppressions and caprices of reconstruction, they felt keenly this last stroke and regarded Bullock and his allies in the abhorred work with an intense loathing. Yet never did a people deport themselves with more dignity and patience. The new reconstruction act had been drawn with great shrewdness and forethought. The clauses imposing the penalties of perjury for a false oath, and making it a felony to hinder men taking the oath, were meant, the one to intimidate Democrats, and the other to strengthen timid Republicans. But by a curious reversal of results the felony clause was vigorously used to check the radical effort to alarm the Democrats from taking the oath.

Gov. Bullock immediately called upon Col. H. P. Farrow, the Attorney General, for an opinion, who gave a sweeping one, that no officers, from Notary Public up, could qualify themselves. And to clinch this ruling, he got an approval of it from Gen. Terry. The whole policy was to deter and frighten enough Democrats from taking the oath under fear of a prosecution for perjury, to give in addition to the negro members, enough Republicans to control the Legislature. And it will be seen that this policy was pursued to success under the most audacious assumptions of unauthorized power, and daring disregard of rights and law. The Democrats saw the drift and set to work to remedy it.

A committee composed of members of the Legislature, including both Democrats and a few conservative Republicans, addressed a letter to Chief Justice Joseph E. Brown, who had opposed every scheme of unnecessary reconstruction, asking his view of the principle urged by Farrow that Notaries Public, Road Commissioners, officers of the



militia, officers of municipal corporations and State Librarians were disqualified from being members. Judge Brown responded, giving his opinion, as questions about disabilities of Legislators could not come before him as Chief Justice for adjudication. He made a strong, unanswerable argument, squarely antagonizing Col. Farrow, and demonstrating that none of these officers were disqualified from being members. The paper was a very able one, and had great weight. It was a heavy blow to the Bullock wing, and gave them a good deal of trouble.

Col. Avery, editor of the *Constitution*, addressed a circular letter to a number of leading men, asking their views upon two points:

"1. Upon the legal scope of the bill (the late act of Congress to promote the reconstruction of Georgia), and the full extent to which the General Assembly can go under its provisos in disturbing the present State government.

"2. What is the course that patriotic members of the Legislature should pursue for the interest of the State."

Some of the responses were very striking papers. Perhaps the most remarkable of them all was from Hon. Thomas Hardeman. It was both a brave and an exceptionably able document. He put some very unpleasant truths in fearless language. He said Democrats must quit defying Congress, stop the foolish non-action policy, cease driving men into the Republican ranks by denunciation, and adopt a kind and conciliatory course to the blacks. The reply of Chief Justice Brown urged that the legislature submit to the inevitable and promptly ratify the Fifteenth Amendment. Negro suffrage was already a fixed fact in Georgia. This Amendment made it a certainty in the North. The objection urged against the Chicago platform, on which Grant was elected, was that it approved negro suffrage as good enough for Georgia, but not good enough for Ohio. Why should Georgia be shut out from representation rather than impose negro suffrage upon those who put it on us. Judge Brown placidly referred to the verification of his prophecies of harsher terms for rejecting the original reconstruction, and condemned the policy of non-action. He intimated his perception of the purposes of the champions of additional reconstruction in these significant words:

"Many patriotic citizens believe they see in the present movement schemes of personal ambition and personal gain at the expense of the State. If they are right, it is all important that every friend of Georgia, who is in a position to serve her, should be at his post, to protect the public property, the public credit, and the public interest."

Gov. Bullock made the blunder of his administration when he cut loose from the calm, conservative, firm counsel of Gov. Brown. He



would have been kept in the rut of a safe, capable and honest government. He had the chance to make an administration of unprecedented power and popularity. As it was he drove the conservatives of his own party away from him, he incurred the righteous hatred of his opponents, and he steered the stout old vessel into the storm and upon the rocks.

Col. Warren Akin in his letter declared the expulsion of the blacks and the seating of the next highest members to be mistakes. He urged all eligible members to attend and vote against the Fifteenth Amendment. Gen. Wm. M. Brown said the law was irresistible, and the Democratic members should conform to its requirements. Judge Linton Stephens, in a letter of great power, urged non-action. The Democratic Executive Committee met and conferred with a large number of outsiders. The committee urged attendance, but gave no advice about the Fifteenth Amendment. Col. Nelson Tift urged the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The Radical Central Committee convened and organized an aggressive campaign of daring bluff. They declared that there were fifty ineligible Democrats. It was announced in the papers that the law firms of Lochrane & Clark, Dougherty & Culberson, and J. L. Hopkins had been employed to aid A. T. Akerman in prosecuting such alleged ineligible members for perjury, if they dared to take the oath. Judge R. H. Clarke and W. Dougherty denied such employment for themselves as individuals. Judge Hopkins acknowledged the employment, but disavowed any purpose to be a party to any political persecution.

The Democratic Executive committee met this with a counter declaration, that able counsel would be employed both to defend members thus prosecuted, and to prosecute for felony those who should seek to hinder them from qualifying. It was a novel feature of the political situation that there should be this sort of cross-play of threatened prosecution. Gov. Bullock subtly offered to aid any, who might be in doubt of their eligibility, in getting relieved by Congress of their disabilities. Every effort was made to stiffen the backbone of the Democrats, but in spite of it all the Bullock strategy was partially successful.

There never has been and never will be seen in Georgia annals such another wretched, humiliating, arbitrary, lawless farce as the reorganization of that Legislature, beginning the 10th day of January, 1870. That body had undergone two transformations. It was to pass through a third, that violated decency and shocked every principle of law and bond of precedent. It was the vilest travesty of legislative propriety





ever perpetrated in any time among any people. It had neither the semblance of law nor chivalry. It was a mockery of both legal and military honor. It was marked by the brutality of the sword and a jeering contempt of the statute. It kept up a repulsive comedy of blended civil and soldierly harlequinism. It excited the derision of even its supporters. It elicited the hot scorn of its enemies. It evoked the disdain of everybody. Men of respectability absolutely looked on aghast and bewildered at the cool audacity of the nameless outrage. It was a profanation of everything sacred in government. It sprung upon the country a succession of surprises as fantastic and indefensible as would be the pranks of so many irresponsible monkeys. These are strong words, but not overdrawn. The conservative portion of the Republicans branded the outrages openly, while a congressional report of a Republican House officially rebuked the whole proceeding.

When the members assembled, Gov. Bullock selected J. G. W. Mills to organize the Senate, and A. L. Harris, one of the employés of the State road, to organize the House. Harris was a western man of enormous corporosity, weighing three or four hundred pounds, a cool, humorous, dry-witted, careless giant, indifferent to abuse, keenly relishing the absurdities of the situation; and equal to any emergency. No attack could ruffle, and no inconsistency of order disconcert him. He was an admirable selection for the odious and perplexing service needed. He obeyed orders implicitly, and held to his arbitrary rôle with a fine blending of pluck and fun. The organization was run along capriciously to suit the exigencies of radical necessity. Bullock hoped that he had terrified enough Democrats off, with the re-seated negro members, to give an easy and safe Radical majority. The opening not only showed the Democrats unfrightened, but there was quite a sprinkling of the more moderate Republicans, headed by J. E. Bryant and Caldwell, who refused to go with the extreme men of their own party.

This was an alarming surprise, but it was met daringly by Bullock. His resolve was to have no organization until he could get such a one as he wished, and this programme was carried out to the letter. It was the richest puppet show of the age. The proceedings were interrupted and adjournments ordered at any time. For days the farce was run of a fat, jolly Westerner, a foreigner to Georgia institutions, a paid subordinate of the State railroad, organizing a sovereign Assembly of Georgia Legislators at his imperial caprice, backed by Terry's bayonets, setting aside parliamentary law and the remonstrance of representatives,



with a sportive sneer and an unappealable absolutism. Such a spectacle has no parallel save in the fantasies of reconstruction.

The Hon. Joshua Hill in the United States Senate, in April, 1871, in a powerful speech against the admission of Foster Blodgett as United States Senator, made the following graphic reference to this outrage, which shows that even an honest Republican sentiment revolted from it:

"There is a good deal of curious history about the assembling of that Legislature under the act of Congress of December, 1869. It was a very memorable occasion in Georgia, a most remarkable event in its history. I happened to be a spectator of some of the scenes that occurred there. They were curious; and if it had not been for the gravity of their consequences, they would have been ludicrous enough to have tempted the pen of a Cervantes or the pencil of a Cruikshanks. Why, sir, there sat on that occasion, with the representatives of the people called together under this Congressional act, a great "ton of man," from the State of Ohio, I believe, or somewhere else, who, enthroned like another Falstaff, acting the part of King Henry IV. before his profligate son, overawed and thundered into silence the representatives of the people. Who was he and whence came he?

"Mr. Sherman—'If that gentleman was from Ohio, I should like to know his name.'

"Mr. Hill—He is big enough to come from Ohio, from Porkopolis, or anywhere else. His name is Harris. Mr. Blodgett had been appointed, by the Governor of Georgia, Superintendent of the Western and Atlantic railway. As I am informed, Mr. Harris was the Supervisor of that great public work, appointed by Mr. Blodgett, and by some hocus-poens, he appeared there on that occasion to organize this Legislature, taking his chair of State, and looking as I fancy Norbury did when he rode the bloody assizes in 1798.

"Men looked amazed and aghast. If there were ever Ku Klux in Georgia, it occurred to me that that was about the time they ought to have showed themselves—when a stranger, a man wholly a stranger to the Legislature, and almost to the whole people of the State, appeared there, and occupied the chair of the Speaker, thundering out his edicts to the representatives of the people, ordering them to disperse and begone to their homes, adjourning them at his pleasure and calling them back when he pleased, and these obedient servants of the people going and doing his behests! Why, sir, the scene was pitiable."

The Senate swore in swiftly, and Benjamin Conley was elected president. While the members were taking the oath, printed protests were offered by the colored Senator Campbell, against a number of Democratic Senators qualifying, and the same thing was done in the House by O'Neal. It was confidently relied that the fear of prosecution for perjury by the Democrats against whom the protests were filed, would frighten them from qualifying, and it was a significant fact that negroes were selected to present these protests which really made their authors liable to prosecution for hindering members from swearing in.

But the game failed, and a change of tactics became necessary. Mr. Conley, in his address on taking the presidency of the Senate, made as



bitter a speech as was delivered during the whole reconstruction era. He denounced the good order of the State, savagely assailed the Democrats and intensified its hot blaze of rancor with this extraordinary utterance:

"The Government has determined that in this republic, which is not, never was, and never can be a democracy, that in this republic Republicans shall rule."

It must ever be among the unexplainable anomalies of that time that a man like Mr. Conley, of evident and acknowledged personal integrity, should have become so warped, and said, and lent himself to, such grave deviations alike from good feeling and public right. It illustrates to what extremes worthy men can go in partisan conflict.

In the House there was a lively time the first day. Harris refused to answer questions upon points upon which he was unloaded, and curtly nipped off suggestions. Bryant, before he was sworn in, objected to reading Col. Farrow's construction of the Georgia bill. Harris called him to order. Bryant declared Harris had no authority to be where he was. Harris ordered the sergeant-at-arms to arrest Bryant. Bryant refused to be arrested, declaring this was an attempt to intimidate members. Hinton and a son of Foster Blodgett attempted the arrest. Great excitement prevailed. A negro drew a pistol on Bryant. There were some violent harangues. Order was at length restored, and the swearing proceeded.

At length Bryant moved that J. H. Caldwell be made chairman of the meeting. The motion was carried in a storm of applause. Bryant started with Caldwell to the chair, but Caldwell got alarmed and drew off. Dunlap Scott nominated Bryant for chairman, which was carried. Bryant mounted a chair, and a motion being made to adjourn until ten o'clock the next morning, he put the motion which was carried, and he declared the House adjourned. He appointed Caldwell, Scott and Osgood a committee to wait on Gen. Terry. Harris, cool and undisturbed, proceeded with his call of the roll. The committee returned from a conference with Gen. Terry, who said that the attempt to read Farrow's opinion was wrong. Harris refused to let the committee report, and when he was charged with treating Gen. Terry with disrespect he ordered Scott to take his seat. Harris carried his authority with a high hand. A messenger came in from the Executive department, and whispered to him, and he adjourned the House. A Radical caucus was called to consider the situation. Another matter that created a lively comment was, that the proceedings were conducted with closed doors,





and parties had to get printed tickets of admission. And between sessions Bullock kept the rolls of the House.

But matters took a most startling turn when the roll of the House was nearly finished. Between the Conservative Republicans and the unalarmed Democrats the control of the Legislature by the Bullock men was in doubt. The strategy resorted to was desperate indeed. Like a clap of thunder in a clear sky, an order was plumped into the General Assembly, on the 14th of January, by Bullock, approved by Gen. Terry, directing a recess until Monday the 17th, after the roll-call was finished, for inquiry into the eligibility of certain members. And following right on, taking the people's breath away, was a military order from Gen. Terry, creating a board of officers, composed of Maj. Gen. T. H. Ruger, Brig. Gen. T. J. Haines and Maj. H. Goodfellow, to inquire into the eligibility of Senators W. T. Winn, J. J. Collier, A. W. Holcombe, W. J. Anderson, B. B. Hinton and C. J. Wellborn.

When this astounding turn was given to affairs, it may well be imagined how the public quivered in its indignation. This was reconstruction with a vengeance. The setting up of an absolute autocrat in the person of the gigantic Harris, to tyrannically twist as he pleased the organization of the elected representatives of a free people and a great commonwealth, was a revolting usurpation. But great as was this wrong, it paled before the enormity of flagrantly violating the very law under which the reorganization was proceeding, which made every member the keeper of his own conscience in taking the oath, and of seeking to purge the Legislature by a court martial. The law prescribed indictment in the Federal Court as the remedy for any perjured qualification of members. And yet here was the bayonet invoked to mutilate the Legislature and thwart the solemn rights of the people without a shadow of authority. It seemed as if this ranging abomination of reconstruction was to invent and enforce every iniquity and fantasy in the scope of an unbridled and malignant invention. And not the least curious thing of it all was that this miserable business of a crazy tampering with rights and laws, while evoking the derision and contempt of everybody, and while condemned and repudiated by Congress itself, was permitted to stand in its wanton exclusion of legislators from their constitutional rights. Such crimes against the government were like the defilement of sanctuaries. Our people shuddered and suffered them in impotent horror, and bestowed upon Gov. Bullock and his coadjutors in the fell work an immeasurable loathing.



The Senators had as counsel before the Military Board, John Collier, R. H. Clark, and George N. Lester. They made a protest against the jurisdiction of the Board. Attorney General Farrow conducted the prosecution. After getting through with the Senators, the Board took up the Representatives. A committee of the Legislature applied to Gen. Terry to allow the Court to determine the questions involved. The Legislature was adjourned to a later date to await the investigation. The Board made the remarkable announcement, after a while, that while it could compel witnesses to be present, it had no authority to force members to attend. The tremendous public odium against the proceeding was having its effect. Senator Morton in a speech denied that President Grant had authorized the Board. Gen. Sherman said that Gen. Terry might have appointed a board of three citizens as well as a board of officers, but still the mischievous and illegal commission pursued the tenor of its way. And only Democrats were the objects of its inquisition.

On the 25th of January, 1870, Gen. Terry sent in his order to the House to the effect that R. A. Donaldson, E. M. Taliaferro and J. H. Nunn were ineligible, and prohibited them from qualifying, and that J. B. Burke, J. A. Brinson, A. T. Bennett, A. M. George, David Groff, W. J. Hudson, D. Johnson, H. C. Kellogg, J. W. Meadows, J. H. Penland, R. C. Surrency, J. R. Smith, H. Williams, J. C. Drake, J. T. Ellis and J. M. Rouse, having refused to take the oaths, and having filed with Gov. Bullock applications for relief of their disabilities by Congress, admit thereby their ineligibility, and were therefore prohibited from taking their seats.

On the 28th an order was issued declaring Senators W. T. Winn and W. J. Anderson ousted, and E. D. Graham and C. R. Moore ineligible because they had failed to qualify, and filed applications for relief. Senator J. J. Collier had taken the oath, but applied to withdraw it, and filed his application for relief, and was therefore declared ineligible. Senator Winn had sold some beef to Confederate soldiers, for which he was deprived of his high trust as a State Senator. Certainly it would be difficult to find a better illustration of the tragic silliness of this high-handed procedure.

The result was that five Senators and Representatives were kicked out under this bayonet process, and nineteen frightened from taking their seats. And months after, a correspondent of the *Augusta Chronicle* reported that some of the applications of the credulous gentlemen who had filed their applications with Gov. Bullock for relief from their



disabilities, were lying in the Executive office. The mingled game of intimidation and relief had been partially successful.

The next step in the programme was learned from the Democrats themselves, and that was seating the next highest candidates. Gov. Bullock recommended this, afraid to run the gauntlet of an election. The highest were seated. There were vacancies, but the Executive withheld orders to fill them by election for months.

The next battle was over the election of a Speaker of the House, and an important one it was. With a friendly presiding officer the Democrats had much to gain. Here, with an inexcusable blundering, they threw away the chance. Bryant was selected as the candidate of the Democrats and Conservative Republicans, and was defeated by R. L. McWhorter, because ten Democrats refused to go for Bryant. Five of them, Harrison, McArthur, Parks, Radish and Smith voted for McWhorter. V. P. Sisson threw away his vote on John Smith, and Rawls, Irwin, Tumlin and Welchell voted for Price, who refused to be a candidate. A personal collision occurred between J. E. Bryant on the one side, and the Blodgetts, Tweedy and Fitzpatrick, in which they bruised Bryant.

The victory of Bullock was complete. He had absolute control of the legislature. Thirty-one negroes re-seated, and twenty-four Democrats ousted and Republicans in their places made the General Assembly overwhelmingly Republican. There was an under-current of movement running along concurrently with the public events that would be very interesting. The restless conflict of secret chicanery, the partial successes on each side, nipped untimely, would make a readable chapter. There is no doubt that Gov. Bullock's bold usurpations endangered his official tenure. Several times the Democrats, by unity, had in their grasp control of the situation. Every conceivable influence was brought to bear to destroy the compact integrity of the Democratic organization. And sometimes honest weakness was as damaging as venality.

Nothing will better show the spirit of the men controlling this body than the offering of a resolution, that only those reporters should be allowed to be present that gave fair reports.

Gov. Bullock sent in a message to the legislature that foreshadowed the balance of his comprehensive and revolutionary programme. He was certainly playing a bold and desperate game of ambition. The message was an able one, but bitter as gall. It slandered the peacefulness of the State to the full. It argued that the State was simply a military province, with a provisional government existing by caprice. The





whole purpose of the message was to secure new United States Senators, and pave the way for getting Congress to prolong his term, and the term of the legislature two additional years. He advised the ratification of both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, though the Fourteenth had already been ratified. But his theory was that there had been no reconstruction, that the first ratification was invalid, and that every thing must be done over again. The obedient legislature, in spite of Democratic protest, ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and the expurgation of the Relief clause in the Constitution, and adjourned until the 14th of February. On the 15th of February the body elected a new batch of United States Senators. R. H. Whitely was elected in Dr. Miller's place, until March, 1871, and H. P. Farrow in Joshua Hill's place, until March, 1873. The duty of selecting a senator for the term ending March, 1877, belonged properly to the next General Assembly that would follow this one. This body was not to be choused out of the privilege, and elected Foster Blodgett Senator for that long term. The legislature then adjourned on the 2nd, until the 14th of February.

This extraordinary reconstruction struggle was transferred to the Halls of Congress, and the new phases upon a national arena were among the most notable of this racy farce. Bullock hurried to Washington on the adjournment of the legislature, to engineer his schemes in person. He had been marvelously successful before. He was destined this time to some hard defeats. Men cannot always succeed in the wrong.

The Judiciary Committee was instructed to inquire whether the Georgia Legislature was organized properly. Bullock had an uphill time. He found the set of things against him. Bryant, Osgood and Caldwell were there opposing him actively. Bullock had Blodgett, Tweedy, Conley, John Rice and Judge Gibson giving him aid. He finally left in disgust, and Judge Gibson made an argument for him before the committee. The legislature re-assembled on the 14th, elected Senators as we have stated, and adjourned on the 17th of February until the 18th of April, 1870, to await the action of Congress.

Gov. Bullock returned to Washington to resume his momentous fight. He went at it with his gloves off. He invoked every influence that could purchase or win. The Slander Mill was put vigorously to work. He sought every aid possible. He argued before the committees. He enlisted every legislative power. A correspondent of the *New York World* reported that his expenses were \$100 a day. The



matter excited a national interest. The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment was being delayed for the passage of the Georgia bill. There was no longer any motive to deal any farther harshness to Georgia. The credentials of Whiteley and Farrow were presented in the Senate and withdrawn. Hill and Miller having been elected before the negro members were expelled, there was a decided disposition to seat them.

The main fight that Bullock was making, however, was to have the whole thing declared provisional with a view to removing objectionable officers who had condemned the extreme measures of the Bullock dynasty, and get Congress to make the term of the dynasty begin with restoration to representation. It was a heavy blow when the House Committee reported against every act of the re-organization of the Georgia Legislature. It condemned the use of A. L. Harris, the seating of the next highest candidates, and the reference of the question of eligibility to the Military Board. A warm discussion ensued in the House. And finally the action was a grave defeat for Bullock. The bill was passed restoring Georgia with an Amendment of Mr. Bingham preventing interference with officers or prolonging terms. The bill went to the Senate, and the struggle over it there was long and severe.

The crushing disaster in the House nerved Gov. Bullock to renewed efforts. The man's persistence, resources and savagery, were phenomenal. His gameness was worthy of a better cause. He enlisted Forney's paper to champion his project, paying his establishment \$4,459 for work and services. He had a delegation of the negro members of the Georgia Legislature to visit Washington, and file a protest against the Bingham Amendment, to whom he advanced \$1,400 for expenses. He induced the negro Senator Revels to make a speech against it. He got up a large meeting in Washington. His expenditures in Washington ran to \$14,500, as elicited by the United States Senate investigating committee, that was appointed to look into certain charges of bribery that were made, of which he showed the committee a considerable part spent on private account. His hotel accounts alone were \$1,868 for a few weeks, as testified by the proprietors of Willard's hotel.

The gravest matter connected with this painful Georgia episode in the United States Senate was, that the investigating committee, Messrs. Trumbull, Edmunds, Conkling, Sherman and Carpenter, reported evidence showing that improper means had been used to influence the Senate on this Georgia measure. Mr. James Hughes swore that Lewis



Porter, assistant postmaster of Washington, told him that \$10,000 of Georgia railroad bonds would be "put up" to influence the vote of Senator Carpenter on the Bingham Amendment. H. M. Atkinson, a son-in-law of Senator Tipton, swore that a man named Gibbs offered to give \$1,000 if Tipton would vote against the Bingham Amendment. Two members of the committee, Stewart and Rice, dissent from the majority of the committee in censuring Gov. Bullock.

This revolting matter created a profound sensation over the whole country. The press dealt with Gov. Bullock severely. The *New York Herald* pronounced it an "infamous attempt to influence legislation." The *Philadelphia Age* spoke of the "Georgia Conspirators." The *Chicago Times* characterized the developments as "scandalous facts." The *Chicago Tribune*, the leading Republican journal of the North-west, was very pungent, declaring the connection of Forney's *Chronicle* with the affair, "disgraceful to journalism." The *New York Commercial Advertiser*, another Republican journal, thus discoursed:

"The people of the United States are just about sick of the name of Bullock. A Senator remarked last week that Congress had 'Bullock on the brain.'"

Sumner, Hamilton and Morton were the leaders on the Bullock side, making bitter speeches. Morton especially delivered a truculent, bad-spirited enunciation. Senator Hamilton of Texas, closed his speech by saying, that the people of the South were the "most blood-thirsty set of cut-throats God had ever permitted on his foot-stool." The reporter stated, that "Gov. Bullock of Georgia and Gov. Clark of Texas shook hands with Hamilton on his conclusion." The *Constitution* made this commentary upon this incident:

"The thoughtful and fervent lover of his State sees matter for amazement in the affair under any possible supposition creditable to the man. An honorable and patriotic spirit, giving credence to a state of public disorder that hard facts would not let him disbelieve, would mourn over the sad state of things, and seek its correction in a remedy that carried as little of shame to his people as possible. The exultation he exhibited over the mendacious expositions of the man Hamilton, finds a parallel alone in the ribaldry in which a drunkard might indulge over the grave of his father.

"Let us turn the leaf over one of the most sickening pages of Georgia's history."

Edmunds, Norton, Carpenter and Ferry made biting speeches against Bullock's scheme. Senator Norton said:

"When we are told that the Ku Klux Klan are ravaging that State, the Governor of that State is here in the Senate chamber, lobbying and log-rolling to keep himself and his friends and his political party in power. Sir, let him go home!"

Senator Edmunds gave Gov. Bullock a severe punishment. Senator Ferry also used some very harsh terms in denouncing the measure.





Schurz and Trumbull followed in able speeches against the iniquity. The Senate passed, April 19, 1870, a substitute for the whole matter, which recited that irregularities had existed in both organizations of the Georgia Legislature, and declared the government of Georgia provisional to continue under military rule, but that a new General Assembly should be elected on the 15th of November, 1870.

The bill thus changed, went back to the House. The bribery investigation in the Senate followed, holding up Gov. Bullock to the scorn of the whole country. Baffled and stung, smarting under the excoriation of the ablest Republicans in Congress, Gov. Bullock returned to Georgia. The Legislature convened on the 18th of April, 1870, and adjourned on the 4th of May, to take a recess until the 6th of July, appointing committees to investigate the Governor and Treasurer, the State Road and the penitentiary.

The Bullock-Angier committee was Bethune, Shumate, Bell, Price and Darnell.

The State Road committee was Lee, Parks, Maxwell, Phillips and Tweedy.

The fact is, that in the defamation of Georgia peacefulness it was overdone upon the United States Senate, and resulted in horrifying Congress to such an extent that there was a disposition to undo not only the State's reconstruction, but Bullock himself. The Senate bill went to the House. Four substitutes were offered for it. The measure was accommodately postponed ten days on Ben. Butler's account, at his request, as he was called away.

The House Reconstruction Committee consisted of thirteen members, of which Butler was chairman. It had four Democrats, Beck, Wood, Woodward and Morgan, who stood gallantly to Georgia. Our people owe a special debt of gratitude to Representative Beck of Kentucky, now Senator from that State. The committee adopted Butler's Georgia bill by a majority of one on the 19th of May, 1870. Gov. Bullock was in Washington on the 16th, having been summoned to testify in the bribery investigation matter. The new bill admitted the State at once, leaving the question of the tenure of the Legislature an open one, to be settled in the State and, not in Congress, and gave the Governor the power to organize the State militia. The bill was the same as the acts admitting Virginia and Texas, save that the organization of the militia was allowed. The measure hung until it finally passed the House on the 24th of June, 1870, declaring Georgia entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States, allowing



the organization of militia, but breaking the Bullock programme in this clause:

"But nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to deprive the people of Georgia of the right to an election for members of the General Assembly of said State, as provided for in the Constitution of said State."

The bill went back to the Senate, was discussed and fought over there for weeks. It at last was amended and passed, the amendment agreed to by the other branch of Congress, and on the 15th day of July, 1870, it was signed by President Grant. The act reads thus:

"Sec. 1. That the State of Georgia having complied with the Reconstruction Acts and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, having been ratified in good faith by the legal Legislature of the State, it is hereby declared that the State of Georgia is entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States, and nothing in this or any other Act of Congress shall be construed to affect the term to which any officer has been appointed or any member of the General Assembly elected as prescribed by the Constitution of the State of Georgia.

"Sec. 2. That so much of the Act entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the support of the army for the year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes,' approved March 2, 1867, as prohibits the organizing or calling into service of the militia forces in the States of Georgia, Mississippi and Texas, be and the same is hereby repeated."

This ended Congressional action upon Georgia, though it failed to quell the restless and disturbing demon of reconstruction, which threatened and toiled for new phases of interference.



## CHAPTER XL.

### THE TWIN INFAMIES OF PROLONGATION AND FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT.

The Semblance of Free Ballot.—Prolongation attempted in the Legislature.—Bullock's Subtlety.—His Message.—Congress Set Aside.—No Election.—Akerman and Farrow against Bullock.—Deep Excitement.—Prolongation Killed.—The Grotesque Election Scheme.—Democratic Folly and Absenteeism.—Legislative Adjournment.—Its Obituary.—Its List of Outrages.—The Kimball Opera House.—Frauds.—Report of Legislative Committee on Bullock's Misrule.—Proclamations.—Pardons.—Their Abuse.—Wrongs of State Aid.—Bonds Endorsed for Uncompleted Railroad.—State Bonds Over-issued.—Gold Bonds.—Henry Clews.—The State Road in 1870 under Foster Blodgett.—A Mountain of Infamy.—Wholesale Squandering and Thievery.—Two Millions Gone.—The Road a Refuge for Traips.—W. L. Clark.—Racy Details of Plunder.—N. P. Hotchkiss and "Rigid Economy."—Blodgett and his "Political Policy" of the Road.

It might have been reasonably supposed that the decisive action of Congress, made law by the Presidential sanction, would have terminated the matter in Georgia, and given quiet to the long-suffering State. PROLONGATION, that most abominable of all the odious infamies of reconstruction, had been expressly rebuked. Even the unsparing extremism of the day recoiled from this most antipodal graft upon our free institutions, this perpetuation of dynasties afraid of the popular will. It is a noticeable fact that under all of the tyrannies of reconstruction there was an underlying attempt to preserve the semblance of the free ballot. Prolongation was simply the ugly, unredeemed spirit and practice of despotism, and it was contemptuously crushed. But Gov. Bullock and his allies were not to be thus thwarted.

The struggle for this loathsome thing was transferred to the Georgia Legislature, and the most desperate and exciting conflict of this unprecedented General Assembly, the battle of all its battles, that fired more heat and made intenser rancor, was the one over prolongation. The movement was begun immediately. Gov. Bullock proved himself, through the whole stormy play of his term, an exceedingly able manager. He was subtle and ingenious—inventive in ruses, and as audacious as he was diplomatic in execution. He addressed a brief message to the General Assembly, which had convened on the 6th of





July, 1870, in which he communicated the passage of the Act admitting Georgia, but said that Congress had adjourned without having admitted our Senators and Representatives. He then proceeded to say that section five of the reconstruction act of 1867 made the actual admission of Senators and Representatives a condition precedent to the abrogation of military authority, which would therefore continue until the assembling of Congress in the winter.

This cool setting aside of the recent act of Congress and attempted continuation in force of the old act of reconstruction, stirred a deep resentment. His message was signed "Rufus B. Bullock." A flood of jeering badinage was showered upon him for thus dodging his title. He had, in the first days, signed himself "Provisional Governor," then "Governor," and then "Provisional Governor" again, and in the non-descript exigency of this last condition he ingeniously put himself down simple "Rufus B. Bullock;" neither "Provisional Governor" nor "Governor," but citizen Bullock, ruling a mongrel concern that was half province and half state, and yet neither the one nor the other, and to be kept shorn of sovereignty for the personal purposes of this Executive and his friends.

A measure was introduced that we should have no election. It was first agitated in the Senate. The State rang with denunciations of the wrong. Col. H. P. Farrow, the Attorney General, published a letter against it, thus splitting from Bullock. Chief Justice Brown resisted it with all of his energy. But Bullock and his friends pressed it with grim persistency. He and they knew it was the only way to get a continuation of rule beyond their term. Never did men cling more stubbornly to power. It was a deliberate attempt to set aside the right of election and prolong office at the expense of law, and in violation of right and every principle of our republican government; but this mattered nothing. The unholy crusade to deprive the people of the ballot and fasten the Bullock dynasty and legislature on the State for two years beyond the term for which they had been chosen, was persisted in as an alleged right under the law.

The Senate showed its resolute partisanship by admitting a man named Wm. Henry, a minority candidate, in place of Senator B. R. McCutchen, who had died. The Senate then passed the prolongation wrong by a vote of 21 to 14. The papers of the State for days kept standing in large capital letters the prolongation senators, in a column headed "Roll of Infamy." The battle was transferred to the House. Mr. A. T. Akerman had been but a short time before (some time in



June) appointed by President Grant, Attorney General of the United States in his cabinet. Col. Akerman, to his honor, rose above the partisan aspects of the case, and wrote a powerful and unanswerable opinion against prolongation, and took an emphatic view that the people should have the right of election in the fall. This document fell with resistless force upon the public. On the 11th of August, 1870, the vote was taken in the House, Chief Justice Brown working zealously against the wrong, and amid an unparalleled excitement, the measure was defeated by a vote of 63 yeas to 72 nays, 12 Republicans voting with the Democrats.

There never has prevailed at any time a deeper excitement than there was over this indefensible measure. The writer believes that if it had passed the House and been approved by Bullock, its enforcement would have been resisted and there would have been some sort of revolution. The feeling was intense. Congress and the Federal administration had condemned it. And Bullock, not only in the very teeth of the public will in Georgia but in reckless defiance of the policy of his own party, was pressing this lawless and revolutionary scheme of holding over. The people would certainly have resisted its execution.

But the trouble was not by any means over with this defeat. The fell spirit of reconstruction assumed protean shapes. With an exhaustless invention it took new forms. Prolongation was not only scotched, but killed and buried, and an election was a certainty. The next effort of Gov. Bullock was to tinker that election into suitable shape to enable his party to control the State. The author of the scheme was reported to be Associate Justice McCay of the Supreme Court, and some ascribed it to Mr. Akerman. Be this as it may, it was one of the most extraordinary election plans ever devised, combining the grotesque tyranny of a bayonet machine with the more puzzling novelties of a metropolitan packing jugglery. This beautiful piece of partisan mischief was to last three days. This feature was borrowed from Reconstruction. It allowed for the transfer around of the frequent voter. The Governor, with the advice of the Senate, picked three managers and the Ordinary, two in each election precinct, and such appointees were subject to fine of \$100 for failure to serve. This cumbrous and original device was obtained from no existing human experience in elections. No ballots could be refused, and no voter be challenged. This reversal of all civilized laws in elections was another original astonisher. Only one man at a time could be at the polls, and the others must stand off in a line fifteen feet distant, while stragglers must hustle away fifty feet. The



Sheriffs were put under the absolute control of the managers. These managers had plenary powers of arrest, and also could fine Sheriffs \$100 for contempt of their imperial orders.

Reading the details of this odd, unprecedented, despotic scheme of an election, one can hardly get to the point of believing that any set of sane men under a Republican government could solemnly have voted by the forms of legislative sanction, a plot so preposterous, fantastic and tyrannous—a scheme marked by such blended absurdity and violation of principle. The battle was tough over this monstrosity. It excited derision and resentment. It was denounced as it deserved. It was stiffly discussed, and opposed with intense heat. Chief Justice Brown threw himself against it, as he did every gratuitous oppression, with his whole soul. But it was all unavailing, Democratic absenteeism and folly gave the victory to the Republicans.

A Democrat offered a resolution that a bare majority could suspend the rules. Before this it had taken a two-thirds majority to suspend the rules. Without suspension a considerable time must have elapsed before the bill could have been reached in its regular order. The Republicans immediately saw the value of this Democratic slip, as well as the Democratic leaders. The inconsiderate mover requested to withdraw his motion, but the Republican presiding officer refused, and there happening to be a Republican majority the new rule was voted through, and the election bill promptly taken up and passed, nine Democratic members being absent, while the majority was only four. This measure became the law in spite of all opposition and the popular censure.

On the 25th day of October, 1870, the House adjourned *sine die*, though the Senate continued in session until the 6th day of December, taking a recess until November, the 21st. The two houses had disagreed about adjourning, so a resolution was passed requesting the Governor to adjourn the House, on the 25th of October, and the Senate take a recess until 21st of November, to confirm appointments. Thus even in the simple matter of a final adjournment, this body did something out of the ordinary custom. No deliberative body has ever concluded its sittings in the State under such a deep public execration. The writer at the time in the *Constitution* published the following obituary, which expressed the popular feeling, and evinces the temper of that time, even among conservative men.





“IN MEMORIAM.

PLAYED OUT.

On the 25th day of October, 1870,  
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
of the  
General Assembly of Georgia for 1868, '69 and '70.

This body  
Received its squelchment from the hands of  
One RUFUS B. BULLOCK,  
Its Master,  
Whom it served 'not wisely but too well'  
For the State's good.  
Born of Despotism,  
It was a true chip of the parent block.

IT

Will be forever luminous in the  
PHOSPHORESCENCE OF ROTTENNESS.

It lived  
But as the tool of partisan villainy,  
And its disdained dissolution  
Came most fittingly  
Through the agency  
Of the power that despised while using it,  
And contemptuously killed it  
The moment its subserviency  
Ceased to be  
Profitable.  
Ransacked History  
Can show no parallel to this Hybrid

For

CORRUPTION,  
WEAKNESS,  
EFFRONTERY,  
IGNORANCE,  
EVIL PLIANCY.

It did its best and utmost of wrong faithfully,  
and what harm it left undone was  
what it was not asked to do.  
Criminal Speculators  
Will mourn with tender grief  
Its demise.

IT

*Had one Idea,*  
That pervaded it ever and always;  
And when the most of  
Its members die,  
The winds



Will sing it as their requiem,  
 And Time will make it glitteringly  
 Infamous,  
 That better than Honor, Country or God  
*They loved*

### NINE DOLLARS A DAY.

For months  
 It neglected business,  
 Doing the work of but a few days;  
 And then in a few days, it hustled  
 Through the work of months,  
 To the State's vast  
 Injury.

#### ITS OBITUARY

Makes so heavy a draft on Language  
 For words of Wickedness  
 That it can never be thoroughly written.

It has emulated

*Apes*

In fantastic folly.

In ruinous aggression upon popular rights

It has been as destructive as the

#### DEVIL.

Its monument

Is

An incongruous heap  
 of

Broken Laws,

Débris of a shattered Constitution,

Outrages upon liberty and sacred law,

Shameless scoopings in the Public Treasury,

Wild havoc with every interest of the State,

Reckless trifling with the vital public credit,

And a rubbish pile of the

WORST PARTISAN DEVILTRY,

That

Political malignity aided by human

Imbecility

Could abort.

Its twin master,

The Senate,

Still holds its baneful sessions

To carry out Executive behests,

And

Worry an oppressed Commonwealth.

But

The task of this Memorial

Staggers the pen.



Humanity  
 Would be proud to erase the sad record  
 Of this body.  
 Failing, however, in this,  
 Human nature explains to posterity  
 The dread stigma  
 Of this Legislature's depravity  
 By one word—  
 'RADICAL!' ”

This Legislature was in session 328 days, and cost the State nearly one million of dollars, the accurate amount being \$979,055. Its sessions of 1870, alone, cost \$526,891. It had at one time 84 clerks and attachés. The pay was put at \$9 a day, and was drawn for twelve days of recess, as well as days of actual session, some of the Democrats, however, refusing to take per diem for the recess. The expelled negro members drew some \$28,938 of pay for the time they did not serve. As the members holding their places drew per diem, there was thus a heavy amount of double pay made. And at every session after each recess, no matter how short, this thrifty body drew mileage. The mileage bill, during the year 1870 only, amounted to the moderate sum of \$63,996.04, and the clerk hire \$51,740. These figures make a startling record, but they are a consistent part of the picture of that unparalleled body. Their significance may be understood by comparison. Nine years of Democratic legislation, from 1853 to 1862, cost only \$866,385, or less than this single Radical General Assembly.

State aid was granted to twenty-eight railroads, aggregating the pledge of the State's liability for over thirty millions of dollars to more than 2,500 miles of road. A system of district courts was created, expensive and cumbrous. The new judicial circuits, the Albany, the Augusta, and the Allapaha, were created. A public school system was organized, and Gov. Bullock appointed Gen. J. R. Lewis as the State School Commissioner. The school fund, however, to the amount of \$327,000, was used for other purposes, leaving the public schools unsupported, and the teachers to be paid by Gov. Smith's administration. The act authorizing the lease of the Western and Atlantic railroad, introduced by Dunlap Scott, was passed and approved, October 24, 1870, and was one of the few really meritorious measures enacted. It is under this act that the present excellent lease was made. There were a number of iniquitous measures to gobble the road, but they were thwarted.

The resolution for the purchase of the Kimball opera house was passed, August 19th, 1870, and approved, October 25th, 1870, and the





resolution for the purchase of the residence of John H. James, for an Executive mansion, was approved October 27, 1870. The first resolution accepted the proposition of the city of Atlanta to donate \$130,000 of its bonds, ten acres of unoccupied land, and an Executive mansion, free of cost to the State for ten years, in lieu of the existing contract. The State was to buy the State House from Mr. Kimball, the Governor to issue seven per cent. bonds running 20 years, reserving enough bonds to secure the \$54,500 advanced to Kimball by Bullock. The resolution does not mention the price to be paid by the State, but accepts Mr. Kimball's proposition, which was for \$250,000 of State bonds.

A committee reporting upon the matter stated that the original hull of the building cost the Opera House company that put it up, \$83,000. Kimball paid \$32,000 for it, and expended \$182,167.56 upon it. Add the \$76,871 paid for heating, light and furniture, and the whole cost to Kimball was \$291,038.56, of which Bullock illegally advanced him \$54,500. Kimball received \$130,000 of Atlanta city bonds, said to be worth then, \$90,000, and \$250,000 claimed worth only \$225,000, making an actual cash value of \$315,000, or a clear profit to Kimball of \$23,961.44, at the depreciated price of the bonds. Estimating the bonds at their face value his profit was \$88,961.44.

This whole State House matter has proven to be a source of mortification and trouble. Every step was marked by wrong. Gov. Bullock had, without authority, advanced \$31,000 to Mr. Kimball in doing what the city of Atlanta should have done. Though rebuked by the legislative committee and the House, Gov. Bullock repeated his unauthorized act, and advanced \$23,500 more to Kimball on the same account. When the sale was made there was a mortgage of \$60,000 to the North-Western Life Insurance Company from Kimball, which was not paid, though the titles were made, and the full amount of purchase bonds paid and received. This mortgage the City council of Atlanta had to pay, and now holds. The Mayor of Atlanta, Wm. Ezzard, gave a certificate that \$130,000 of city bonds were due on the Opera House, the bonds to be paid to the holder of the certificate. This certificate was untrue, in fact, as by an arrangement with Mr. Kimball, only \$100,000 of bonds were to be paid. He had already received \$30,000 of rent bonds, of which he had used \$10,500, and at the purchase returned the balance, \$19,500. This certificate, by written agreement, was turned over to Gov. Bullock to hold until the \$60,000 mortgage was paid. The mortgage was not paid and the bonds were used by Mr. Kimball against the contract, and in neglect of the State's interest.



But this is not all. At the time the legislature passed the resolution of purchase there were only currency bonds, and these were therefore the consideration. At the greater value of gold securities, the State would pay fully \$30,000 more in them than in currency bonds. Gov. Bullock first gave the currency bonds to Mr. Kimball, and then, afterwards, the gold bonds to be exchanged for the currency bonds. The exchange was never made, and thus, not only was the illegal payment of gold bonds made, but both sets of bonds were used by Mr. Kimball.

The \$54,500 advanced to Mr. Kimball by Gov. Bullock was to be retained by Gov. Bullock, under the resolution of purchase of the legislature. This was not done. The committee of the legislature of 1872, E. F. Hoge, S. A. McNeil, W. H. Payne, C. J. Wellborn and John C. Nicholls report that the whole testimony touching the Opera House purchase they believe,

"Establishes, beyond doubt, not only the official corruption of Gov. Bullock, but his venality."

The legislature of 1872 appointed committees that made thorough investigations of Gov. Bullock's administration. These committees were composed of conservative, conscientious men. The investigations were conducted under oath, and were full. The statement of the facts of Gov. Bullock's rule are taken from the official reports.

The committee, whose report we have quoted about the Opera House, further state that Gov. Bullock permitted Mr. Kimball to borrow \$255,000 in the name and upon the credit of the State, and to retain the money in his hands. They report \$776,834.09, as Gov. Bullock's personal special account with the Georgia National Bank, in which were mingled State and private money of Bullock and Kimball. They further report that during Gov. Bullock's administration, he paid for Executive orders and proclamations published in forty-two papers the vast sum of \$143,397. Proclamations of reward would be followed by proclamations of pardon of the same criminal after his capture and payment of the reward. Proclamations of reward were published after the capture of the criminals. The committee reported that \$49,361.75 had been spent in lawyers' fees by Gov. Bullock. They further report 523 cases of pardon by Gov. Bullock, including 566 persons, many before conviction, and some cases of brutal murderers. Some of the Governor's political household were engaged in pardon brokerage. Among the pardons granted was one to V. A. Gaskell, given in anticipation of prosecution for violating section 4,402 of the Code of 1868,



he having paid the State Treasurer money to sign certain railroad bonds. The committee use this language:

"While making and encouraging complaints to the Federal government of countless crimes, many of them dependent for their heinousness upon the imagination of those who deemed it to their interest to magnify them, Gov. Bullock wrenched open, with the resistless hand of Executive prerogative, the prison doors which had been locked up by the Law, and turned loose upon our people a horde of murderers, burglars and thieves."

The abuse of the pardon power was one of the strongest charges against Gov. Bullock. In the matter of the unauthorized endorsement of railroad bonds, Gov. Bullock, according to the committee, committed his gravest and largest breach of official trust. And they note the fact that all of these illegal endorsements were done in the interest of the roads of which Mr. Kimball was President. The Brunswick and Albany railroad was the cap-stone of these frauds. The enormous sum of \$5,210,000 of State bonds and endorsements were given by Gov. Bullock to Mr. Kimball on bonds of this road. The law of State Aid required the road to be completed to get the State's endorsement, twenty miles at a time. The sum of \$1,098,000 of bonds were issued illegally, for which there was no road completed; and even where the road was complete, the endorsement was in advance of the work.

The Bainbridge, Cuthbert and Columbus railroad bonds were endorsed by Gov. Bullock to the amount of \$600,000, yet not one mile of road was ever completed by the laying down of cross-ties or iron, nor was one dollar ever invested in the road by private parties, as the Constitution required. The Cartersville and Van Wert railroad and the Cherokee railroad were the same railway, and enjoyed thus a double installment of bonds, one of \$275,000 and the other of \$300,000. When three and a half miles were completed the Governor, who inspected the road in person, accommodatingly gave Mr. Kimball his endorsement upon the whole road. The name of the road was changed to the Cherokee Road, and a new set of \$300,000 of bonds was asked and obtained to take up the first set. The exchange was never made, and both sets of bonds used, as in the case of the Opera House bonds.

In the matter of State bonds the same spirit of disregard of law and reckless extravagance was shown. There was needed some \$300,000 to pay the legislature, and Gov. Bullock issued two millions of currency bonds to raise the money by hypothecation. These bonds were issued under the Act of August 27, 1870. An act was passed September 15, 1870, authorizing the issue of gold quarterly bonds to take up the currency bonds and for other purposes. Gov. Bullock issued three millions





of these bonds, largely in excess of any need. The gold bonds were put out, but a million and a half of the currency bonds were left uncanceled. Henry Clews had \$800,000, and Russell Sage \$530,000 of the dead currency securities. Mr. Kimball used \$120,000 of them to get a loan of \$50,000 from the firm of J. Boorman Johnston & Co., and \$50,000 for a loan of \$35,000 from the Fulton Bank of Brooklyn. Both Mr. Clews and Russell Sage, though receiving ample gold bonds to secure them, refused to give up their currency bonds. The committee says that it is forced to the conclusion that a portion of this money was raised for the private account of Mr. Kimball.

Of the three million gold bonds, \$1,750,000 were placed with Clews; \$500,000 with Russell Sage to secure a loan of \$375,000; \$300,000 with the Fourth National Bank; A. L. Whiton \$100,000; \$250,000 to H. I. Kimball on the Opera House, and \$100,000 to J. H. James for the Executive mansion. Mr. Clews presented his account. He sold \$1,650,000 of gold bonds for \$1,432,230. He had claims against the State of \$1,489,284.04, of which \$41,061.78 was interest, and \$92,995.30 commissions, making the handsome interest and commission account of \$134,057.08 for handling less than a million and a half dollars. Of this account, \$609,192.78 was paid on notes and drafts of Gov. Bullock and Foster Blodgett in violation of law, and \$377,000 was paid on account of the State Road. The sum of \$10,687 was paid by Clews to newspapers. Add to the enormous commissions the loss of \$211,500 upon the face value of these bonds, and we see the State out \$350,000 through Clews.

Gov. Jenkins had negotiated three millions of bonds at a cost of \$1,110, and with an advertising bill of only \$931; selling our securities at ninety-five cents. When Gov. Jenkins did this, gold was \$2 premium, while when Gov. Bullock was mismanaging our finances, it was \$1.12 premium.

It would require a volume to detail the particulars of the mismanagement of Gov. Bullock's financial administration. It would not be an exaggeration to say, that there was hardly anything about it right. There was one unbroken continuation of violations of law and bold extravagance. Treasurer Angier and the Atlanta *Constitution* fought inch by inch this financial misgovernment. The bulk of the irregularities did not come out until the long and exhaustive legislative investigation evolved them, but there was a great deal that was discovered and opposed, and clearly ventilated.

There is one subject that has not been touched, that was the great



unapproachable sum of all villainies. The State road, for 1870, furnished a companion pretty nearly to the famous Yazoo fraud. Maj. Campbell Wallace had taken the road under Gov. Jenkins, and made a brilliant administration. He regenerated it with a masterly skill. It was in ruin. He restored it. His net earnings for the year 1867 were \$330,202. Col. E. Hulburt ran the road in 1869, commencing August, 1868, doing a fine business, and making regular payments into the State treasury, until the last month or two, when he was hampered. The treasurer of the road was William W. Clayton, a gentleman of large business experience and shining integrity. In July, 1869, against Hulburt's earnest protest, Mr. Clayton was removed, and Foster Blodgett made treasurer. Hulburt was a professional railroader, and took pride in making a good administration, and he remonstrated that Blodgett was "not regarded by the people of Georgia as a man of integrity," and he believed him to be "an unprincipled man."

On the first day of January, 1870, Hulburt was removed, and Foster Blodgett appointed superintendent of the State road, holding the position until the 27th day of December, 1870, lacking a few days of making a year. In the annals of railroading there has been no such travesty of railroad management. Blodgett knew nothing of railway superintendency. Add to this ignorance the ingenious and wholesale utilization of the road as a pure partisan machine, and, as can well be conceived, the circumstances were perfect for a stupendous botch of administration. But the reality surpasses any possible ideal of perverted handling. Results will best describe the mismanagement.

The road was in fine order. The receipts during Blodgett's administration were, \$1,464,737, out of which \$45,000 only was paid into the State Treasury. Hulburt turned over to Blodgett, \$109,131, making \$1,573,868 that Blodgett had during the year. This amount, except the \$45,000, was spent during the twelve months. Just before Blodgett's superintendency ceased, he represented to the legislature that the road was in such a condition as to need half a million of repairs. And he left a legacy of some \$600,000 of debt in round numbers, that was afterwards paid by the State. This made the incredible aggregate of over *two millions* of dollars spent in one year, with the road so run down as to need another half million to repair it properly.

The details of this vast mismanagement are picturesque. Unauthorized offices were created. The road was packed with political employés, and made the refuge for party tramps. In 1869 the party roll showed 743 men. Under Blodgett there were 1,442 names, or an



increase of 699 useless officers fed at the public expense for partisan purposes. The increased pay roll was \$178,574 over 1869. Many men were paid who rendered no service whatever, others were members of the legislature, and others in other business wholly incompatible with any work on the road. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of legitimate expenses were left unpaid. The investigating committee of the legislature of 1872, reported \$499,903 as due from plundering officers and other sources. Attachment suits for \$366,274 were brought in Fulton Superior Court. And thirty-three indictments were found for various crimes, including two against Gov. Bullock, one for cheating and swindling, and the other for larceny after trust.

W. L. Clark made a minority report that was a very clever piece of writing. It was a semi-satirical, humorous and shrewd presentation of the matter from a Republican stand-point. He frankly owned that a great number of petty frauds were clearly proven. One of the leading frauds was the Tennessee Car Company swindle. Mr. E. N. Kimball was the manager of the Car company, and made contracts and received pay for some fifty-six box cars, to the amount of \$42,500. No such cars were ever delivered, and Gov. Bullock, Foster Blodgett and E. N. Kimball were indicted for cheating and swindling. This was one of the cases which was clearly made, but Gov. Bullock was not proven connected with it, and was therefore acquitted. Mr. Clark surmised that the parties did not intend to defraud the state, but their enterprises miscarried, money was needed to bridge-over a chasm, and this questionable plan was devised for raising it.

The main point of this sharp-witted minority report of Mr. Clark was the showing that Democrats as well as Republicans had shared in the robberies. The figures were ingeniously arranged and interesting. The Republican pickings in the matter of law fees were \$15,480, and the Democratic \$48,247. The printing given to Republican journals in 1870 were \$19,103, and to Democratic papers, \$32,964. Of \$1,586,188 that he said was paid, \$635,018 was traceable to Republicans, and \$809,586 to Democrats. Of clearly proven fraud, however, he traced \$113,442 to Republicans, and \$50,763 to Democrats. Clark claimed for the Republican administration that it gave liberal rates, and finally took the road out of politics. But he candidly owned this in regard to what he calls the "record of crime and shame."

"The examination has conclusively shown that the late superintendent was a bad man, and utterly unworthy of the trust confided to him by the Governor, and of the confidence reposed in him by the Republicans of the State. He not only defrauded the





people of their money, but the demoralization of his example was felt throughout the social and business and political circles in which he moved."

This is strong opinion to come from a Republican source. It may not be uninteresting to mention some of the specific matters of varied fraud that marked this redeemless year of railway misrule. Receipts for \$7,296 of lard oil were forged in the name of A. J. Orme. A. L. Harris was paid \$2,760 for a worthless railway switch. Receipts for \$1,850 in the name of L. B. Langford were forged. Large numbers of Tennessee negroes were carried free down to Atlanta to vote. Accounts for \$5,000 for boarding hands were raised to \$8,923. E. S. Nixon, local agent at Chattanooga, caused a freight blockade, by giving preference to his own freight bought on speculation. Bogus names were placed on the pay roll and money drawn for them. Col. Hulburt testified that Gov. Bullock wanted him to advance money from the State Road Treasury, to purchase the *New Era* newspaper. And finally, in 1870, \$7,000 of money for this purpose was raised on State road fraudulent passed bills. City Directories, for 1870, to the amount of \$260 were bought. During the year 1870, a committee of the Bullock legislature investigated the road, and the bill for liquor, cigars and music for this festive set of inquirers was only \$1,650, including some fifty gallons of whisky, fifteen gallons of sherry, 7,100 cigars and fifty-seven dozen lemons.

These unique specimens of the minor frauds will afford some conception of the ingenuity of grotesque swindling that continuously marked this unequaled year of State railroad mismanagement in the wonderful years of reconstruction. Several humorous incidents will gracefully cap this rich chronicle. Mr. Blodgett stated with an inimitable humor that he took charge of the road to manage its "public and political policy." This was only surpassed in its dry wit by the response of the Auditor, N. P. Hotchkiss, who made a reply that became ludicrously historic to the question as to how he managed to save up twenty or thirty thousand dollars in a year or two, out of a two or three thousand dollars salary. Said this thrifty person—"by the exercise of the most rigid economy."



## CHAPTER XLI.

### THE DOWNFALL OF THE RECONSTRUCTION REGIME AND BULLOCK'S RESIGNATION AND FLIGHT.

Bullock's \$25,000 Libel Suit against the Atlanta *Constitution*.—That Paper refuses Bullock's Proclamation.—State Democratic Convention.—The Democratic Executive Committee.—Linton Stephens' Difference with the Committee.—The Election.—A Democratic Legislature.—Congressmen.—Howell Cobb's Death.—Chief Justice Brown's Noble Eulogy.—Joe Brown and Ben Hill.—Hill's Letter of Submission to the Amendments.—The Harsh Ordeal of Public Odium he Underwent.—Touching Utterances.—The Lease of the State Road.—Chief Justice Brown Resigns.—O. A. Lochrane as Chief Justice.—The Kimball House.—An Historic Landmark of Reconstruction.—The Desperate Situation of the Bullock Régime.—Gathering Troubles.—Foster Blodgett Fails to get in as United States Senator.—Senator Joshua Hill.—The Greene County Presentments and McWhorter.—The Ku Klux Investigation.—Seeking the State Crucifixion.—Impending Crash.—The Brunswick and Albany Railroad Tumbles.—Gov. Bullock's Resignation and Flight.—Seven Days' Preparation.—Benjamin Conley Sworn in as Governor.—Gov. Bullock's Aspersions of the Legislature.—Lively Comment on the Hegira.—Gen. Toombs.—“No Bleeding Martyr, but a Spavined Rogue.”—Bullock's Criminal Prosecution.—Requisition for Bullock.—His Arrest and Final Acquittal.—Review of his Administration.

A MATTER much commented upon at the time was a libel suit for \$25,000, brought by Gov. Bullock against the Atlanta *Constitution*, to check that paper, if possible, in its zealous warfare upon the wrongs of his administration. But the suit simply evoked derision, and stimulated the paper to greater activity of opposition. This journal also refused to publish Gov. Bullock's proclamations, denouncing their extravagance. This course brought a warm fusillade from a large portion of the Democratic press. Not until Gov. Smith was elected as the Executive, did the *Constitution* take one dollar of any sort of patronage from the administration. This course gave that journal a strong hold upon the affections and confidence of the people.

On the 17th day of August, 1870, a Democratic convention was held in Atlanta. Gen. A. H. Colquitt was made President, and on the same day he was chosen President of the State Agricultural Society. This two-fold honor, voluntarily tendered by two representative bodies, the farmers and public leaders of the State, was a public tribute of which



any man could be proud, and evinced the popular appreciation of this worthy son of an illustrious sire.

The convention had 300 delegates from 109 counties. Among the members were Thomas Hardeman, Jr., W. S. Holt, A. O. Bacon, S. A. Corker, P. Thweatt, Wm. M. Browne, J. S. Boynton, C. Peeples, D. Scott, R. E. Lester, E. F. Hoge, J. Collier, N. Tift, R. N. Ely, L. N. Trammell, Geo. Barnes, J. R. Randall, A. R. Wright, A. H. Colquitt, W. A. Hawkins, Linton Stephens, W. M. Reese, A. R. Lamar, J. L. Seward, A. R. Lawton and J. Hartridge. Among these were two young men of promise. E. F. Hoge of Atlanta has since been in the General Assembly, and shown himself to be a person of substantial ability and decided character. James R. Randall is one of our genuine poets, who, as the author of "My Maryland," has won an enduring fame. That poem will last while the English language is spoken. Mr. Randall has been one of our most gifted and scholarly newspaper men, a writer of singular and vivid power, and at present, as one of the editors of the *Augusta Chronicle and Constitutionalist*, one of the ornaments of Georgia journalism.

The resolutions of the convention were drawn by Linton Stephens, pledging the Democracy to stand on the unchangeable principles of a constitutional government, and to overthrow a corrupt state administration. No speeches were made, greatly to the disappointment of the Republicans, who hoped for some indiscreet utterance for political capital. An Executive Committee was appointed of L. Stephens; J. Hartridge, J. T. Clarke, M. J. Crawford, J. Jackson, A. Reese, W. M. Browne, and R. A. Alston.

Linton Stephens was elected Chairman, and R. A. Alston, Secretary. Judge Stephens accepted the chairmanship in a ringing letter, in which while he acquiesced in the prevalent idea that none but eligible men should run for State offices, he took the ground that for Congress some ineligible candidates should be nominated and elected to make an issue. This letter struck the Democratic leaders of the State unfavorably, and a hot discussion was precipitated, the majority of the press disagreeing with Judge Stephens. In a few days Judge Stephens published an eloquent and masterly letter defending his views, but refused the chairmanship because he understood there was not a quorum present when he was chosen chairman. Col. Clifford Anderson was then made Chairman.

The election came off, and in spite of the extraordinary facilities for the administration to control it, the result was a sweeping Democratic





victory. The wrongs of Bullock's rule had been so strongly presented and pressed, that in many cases Republican candidates for the Legislature in the white belt were compelled to repudiate the administration. The following congressmen were elected: D. M. Du Bose, Thos. J. Speer, P. M. B. Young, A. T. McIntyre, J. S. Bigby, W. P. Price and Nelson Tift. But R. H. Whiteley was seated in Tift's place. The only Democrats of this delegation were Young, Price, Du Bose and McIntyre.

The year 1870 was prolific in startling events. Gen. Howell Cobb fell dead suddenly in New York from a stroke of apoplexy. His death shocked the State. Perhaps the most striking tribute paid to him was by Chief Justice Joseph E. Brown in the Supreme Court. The eulogy upon the distinguished deceased, by the presiding officer of this august tribunal, was a noble attestation to the character and greatness of Gen. Cobb, and it was especially touching in view of the strong animadversions made by the dead in his life upon the eulogist. Referring tenderly to the harsh conflicts of sentiment, Judge Brown added these graceful and honoring words:

"All these differences, which grew out of conflicting opinions on public policy, in times of high political excitement, and producing alienation and estrangement, are evanescent and soon pass away. In the grave they are forgotten. And when under Divine Providence, one party precedes the other, for a little while to that habitation, which awaits all the living, they are never remembered and cherished by any honorable and generous survivor."

Chief Justice Brown had made large advances in regaining the esteem of the public so rudely torn from him. His condemnation of Bullock's schemes had shown the people that his position of acquiescence in reconstruction was conscientiously taken for the public good as he saw it, and that under an overwhelming provocation of unmerited and scathing public odium he had stood firm against the unnecessary and gratuitous indignities his unwelcome political allies had sought to put upon the State. His great ability and dignity upon the Bench, and lustrous judicial integrity, had made him an ornament to the State's judiciary. The popular passion had begun to subside, and men were learning to discriminate between the reluctant Republicanism born of sincere, public spirit, and the partisanism begat of venal ambition and looking to unlicensed power and an unctuous plunder.

It was a curious coincidence that while this distinguished and unsurpassable Georgian was emerging from his baptism of obloquy, another brilliant citizen, who had been foremost in the unsparing excoriation of Chief Justice Brown, was himself suffering the same political crucifixion



for the same kind of public opinion, that had brought Brown into censure. Hon. Benjamin H. Hill issued an address on the 8th of December, 1870, to the people of Georgia, in which he took ground that the abhorred amendments were in fact, and would be held in law, fixed parts of the national Constitution. Usurpation, the most glaring, succeeding, became law. It may have been criminal—was criminal—to aid in committing the usurpation; it is crime itself to break the law. His conclusion was, that we had a new National Constitution, with new and enlarged powers of government, establishing new and different relations between the General and State governments. And he urged the duty upon the Southern people to obey the new Constitution, to protect negro suffrage, and to cease quarreling over the divisions on the principles and events which led to the existing condition.

This address fell upon the State like a clap of thunder on a clear day. And for years Mr. Hill walked through the valley of shadows. He was lampooned, abused, and howled at. He was called Radical; accused of selling out to the Republicans; of changing politics with a view to election to the Senate, by a Republican legislature; and a thousand other hard criminations. For years he fought against public odium as Gov. Brown had done. It looked as if he was politically shelved. His best friends turned upon him. His ordeal was not altogether as severe as Gov. Brown's, but it was a harsh one, and his recovery was a striking instance of political vitality. He made a public speech in February, 1872, that contained some peculiarly pathetic sentences. Said he:

"I freely state that my political life is an enigma."

He added after in a burst of defiance:

"I had rather be the humblest of those who would save you, and perish amid your curses, than be the chiefest architect of your ruin, and live forever the unworthy recipient of your deluded huzzas."

There is no stranger and more suggestive instance of the instability of human passion and the evanescence of human prejudice than the savagery of proscription endured by these two remarkable men, rounded as it has been by an elevation so august, in a time so short. The coincidence continues markedly, in the fact, that in every particular their experiences have been identical, and that so antagonistic once, their accord now is complete—a conjunction of absolute diversities. It was a wonderful triumph for Brown to see his old foe man with him. But it was only the beginning of a broader political corroboration in a practical point of view.



On the 26th day of October, 1870, Gov. Bullock advertised the Western and Atlantic railroad for lease under the lease act. On the 27th of December, 1870, the road was leased to the present company at a rental of \$25,000 per month for twenty years, the company giving a bond of eight millions of dollars with the Georgia, Central, South Western, Macon and Western, Atlanta and West Point, Macon and Brunswick, Brunswick and Albany, Nashville and Chattanooga, and St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroads for security. Gov. Brown was elected President of the company, having resigned his position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court before he made a bid for the lease, and having served a little over two years, renouncing ten years of his term. His resignation testifies conclusively to the fact that he did not desire office, and that place was not the inspiration of his political attitude upon reconstruction.

As a Supreme Court Justice, Judge Brown maintained to the fullest extent his admittedly great abilities. A perusal of his decisions, covering every topic of jurisprudence and every principle of civil and criminal law, shows careful discrimination, profound discernment of the spirit of laws, wide and accurate legal learning, and the very perfection of a judicial temper, impartial, equipoised and punctilious. The truth is that Chief Justice Brown was the very paragon of a Judge, and adorned the ermine as much as any jurist that has ever sat in the Supreme tribunal of the State. He possessed an exceptional blending of a placid and untiring patience with fixedness of decision and luminous legal acumen.

Gov. Bullock appointed as Chief Justice in Gov. Brown's place, until the meeting of the General Assembly in Nov., 1871, Judge O. A. Lochrane. This gentleman had sustained himself upon the Superior Court Bench with rare success. Appointed by Gov. Brown as Judge of the Macon circuit at the beginning of the war, and taking his seat under heavy and open opposition, due to a certain jovial vein in his versatile composition, he had handled a number of grave and novel questions with originality and undoubted legal power. He had upheld both the dignity and ability of the bench. Some attorneys at Twiggs court agreed to carry their case by consent to the Supreme Court to avoid his jurisdiction. With placid poise he marked and announced the case dismissed for want of prosecution, and had the humbled lawyers pleading for the restoration of their case to the docket with much earnest compliment to his Honor. He enforced the writ of Habeas Corpus against Confederate suspension; he decided the conscript law unconstitutional; he refused







Faithfully yours

A. A. Lockman



to recognize the government of England that did not recognize the Confederacy; he held that the State of Georgia had the right to a writ of possession for arms loaned the Confederacy, and called on Gov. Brown for means to enforce his order. These rulings indicate legal ability and inflexible decision.

After the war he resigned, and moved to Atlanta. He was appointed Judge of the Atlanta Circuit, and served from August, 1869, to August, 1870, when he resigned, to be appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in January, 1871.

Among the historic landmarks of the reconstruction is that magnificent building and most valuable instrument of Atlanta progress, the Kimball House. It was a superb hostelry, far ahead of the growth of Atlanta. It was begun in April and finished on the 17th of October, and its construction was a marvel of rapid work. It cost over \$600,000, and the agent of Henry Clews, Mr. Crosby, told the writer that \$300,000 of the money advanced on State endorsed bonds to build the Brunswick and Albany railroad had been traced into this hotel. Its history is one of vicissitudes, litigation and strange changes of ownership.

The year 1871 was another eventful twelve months of Georgia history, winding up with a most dramatic surprise. The absolutism of Radical rule had seen its culmination when Congress passed the law of July 15th, 1870, for the admission of Georgia, and when under it a Democratic legislature was elected in December, 1870. It must be held in thought, in order to comprehend the situation and the startling denouement, that the Republican régime had before it the certainty of a full Democratic inquiry into matters. There had been enough open acts of wrong and unlawful extravagance to justify grave apprehensions of trouble for their authors. As was afterwards developed, there were worse derelictions concealed. From this time on the Bullock administration was in a fearful strain to secure the success of its projects, and in final triumph make temporary illegalities forgotten or justified. But it was an uphill business. Kimball was carrying more than mortal man could bear. He was President of seven railroads, and the master of a monster hotel. The bonds were poured out so freely as to overstock the market, and the load was the heavier that dimly discerned irregularities were battered at by the opposition, until the enterprises staggered under the growing burden of discredit.

The situation daily became more desperate. Ruin threatened every project. In the pitiless stress new illegalities were resorted to, that failed to remedy the perils. Bullock stood gamely to his friend Kim-



ball. Illegal endorsements were given in succession. And yet all was unavailing. Angier in the Treasury prompted the clue to suspicious matters, the *Atlanta Constitution* probed and ventilated them, and the Democratic press, both in and out of the State, kept up a lively fusillade and publication. And so the final crash was steadily focalizing.

Foster Blodgett went to Washington, and tried to get admitted as United States Senator, on the 4th of March, 1871. The effort was vain. His record was ventilated fully. Senator Thurman made an unanswerable speech against his admission, taking the ground that he was elected by a Legislature that had no right to choose a Senator for the term Blodgett claimed. Senator Joshua Hill made a rare speech against his admission. It was a document full of fearful punishment for Blodgett and his sponsors. It was witty, satirical, caustic and argumentative. Coming from a Republican source, it was irresistibly effective. It alike pilloried not only Mr. Blodgett but the Legislature that elected him. A Republican delegation from Georgia, consisting of Conley, Harris, Tweedy, D. D. Snyder, and A. D. Rockafellow, went on to Congress to press Blodgett's admission for the reason that "it was for the welfare of the Republican party." Congress adjourned without seating Blodgett.

Senator Hill introduced two measures in April, 1871, that have excited great interest. One was the bill for the survey of the Atlantic and Great Western Canal, and the other a pet project of Col. W. P. Price to convey the United States mint building at Dahlonga, Ga., to the trustees of the North Georgia Agricultural College—an institution that has done a great amount of good, and is one of the most valuable educational seminaries in the State. Gen. Young also introduced in the House, a resolution for a post office building. We now have it.

Perhaps nothing could better show the downward drift of Gov. Bullock's administration in the popular opinion, than certain presentments of the Grand Jury of Greene county, in March, 1871, of which ex-Speaker McWhorter was a member of the one, and signer of the other, censuring Bullock's "wasteful expenditures of the public money and his wicked and heartless abuse of the public credit." Nor was Bullock without the leverage to help him, given by the incessant Republican agitation of the "Southern outrage" crusade. In Congress a committee was engaged in perpetual investigation of Ku Klux enormities. This was the stock in trade of extreme Radicalism. It was a striking evidence of Bullock's waning influence with the national leaders of his own party, that his contributions to this wretched campaign





of calumny availed him nothing. He issued a detestable proclamation of rewards for an imaginary batch of hideous Ku Klux outrages. The slanderous pronunciamento under the Executive impress was advertised broadcast at the public expense, disseminating its envenomed poison everywhere. In July, 1871, he wrote a letter to Congressman Scott, on the condition of Georgia, rendering a bad account of the afflicted old commonwealth, that had fallen into the cruel hands of political Philistines. Gen. Gordon went before the Ku Klux committee, and endeavored to neutralize the mischief.

It was an appalling criminality for men with the prestige of authority giving them weight, and with every incentive of State patriotism to conserve the interest and foster the fame of Georgia, deliberately seeking to re-crucify the State, their own mother. But the power to harm was rapidly diminishing. The reign of evil was passing away. The Bullock rule was swiftly drawing to a tragic close. There came out whispers of Kimball's embarrassment. Gov. Bullock went away, and was gone nearly three months. Finally the irrepressible Angier gave notice that he would pay no warrants not signed by a resident Governor, as the law requires. The State road mismanagement was giving out a noisome odor. The Treasurer of the road was arrested. A committee of citizens, Judge Hammock, Dr. Redwine and Judge Collier were appointed to examine the State road books. A large array of able counsel, led by Gen. Toombs, volunteered in the investigation.

The first note of an impending general crash came in the disintegration of the huge enterprise known as the Brunswick and Albany railroad, the recipient of a double State aid, and an indistinguishable compound of equity and fraud. Claims poured upon it, which were not met. The Superintendent, J. A. Burns, dropped it and left. The road was seized by the Governor. This was after the middle of October. Every one felt that the end was approaching. The radical edifice began to shiver. The portents were unmistakable. The conclusion was at hand. But it must be confessed the finale took an unexpected shape. When it was announced that Gov. Bullock had fled the State, leaving his resignation, it was like an overwhelming electric shock. The surprise over, one flashing note of universal rejoicing resounded over the State.



The minutes of the Executive Department, show that on the 23rd of October, 1871, the resignation was written and reads as follows:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, October 23, 1871. }

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN—GREETING:

"Be it known, that good and sufficient reasons, me thereunto moving, I do hereby resign the office of Governor of this State, to take effect on Monday next, the 30th day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1871, and on that day and date, deliver over to the Hon. Benjamin Conley, President of the Senate, the Executive powers of the Government, until the election and qualification of a Governor, in the mode prescribed by paragraph IV., Article IV., Section 1 of the Constitution of this State. And the Secretary of the Executive Department will enter the foregoing of record in the Executive Minutes, and place the Capitol building, Executive records, Documents, Seals, and Mansion in the control of the said Benjamin Conley, upon his taking the oath of office prescribed by Paragraph V., Section I, Article IV. of the Constitution.

"RUFUS B. BULLOCK, Governor."

On the 23rd of October, 1871, the Executive Minutes show that R. H. Atkinson, Secretary of the Executive Department, says that he transmitted, by direction of Governor Bullock, this resignation to the Hon. D. G. Cotting, Secretary of State, to be filed in his office. On the 30th day of October, 1871, at 3 o'clock P. M., *seven* days after the resignation, and after Mr. Atkinson's claimed transmission of the same to Mr. Cotting, the Executive Minutes show that Mr. Cotting thus addressed Hon. Benjamin Conley, President of the Senate:

"SIR:—I have *at this moment* been placed in possession of the enclosed communication, from the Hon. R. B. Bullock, being his resignation of the office of Governor of the State of Georgia, said communication being transmitted to me through the hands of Col. R. H. Atkinson, Secretary of the Executive Department.

"Thereby give you notice to repair to the Capitol, in Atlanta, within ten days of the date hereof, and take the oath of office, as Governor, before any Judge of the Supreme, or Judge of the Superior Court, otherwise it will be my duty to consider you as having resigned, and I shall proceed to inform the Speaker of the House of Representatives."

The Executive Minutes show that on the same day, the Hon. Benjamin Conley, President of the Senate, took the oath of office, and was installed as Governor, by Chief Justice O. A. Lochrane.

Though the resignation was seven days made before announcement, no whisper of it got out. It was managed with wonderful secrecy, and when it was given to the public, Gov. Bullock was out of the State, and Mr. Conley acting Governor. The Washington *Patriot* stated that Gov. Bullock admitted to a United States Senator, that he did not like the course politics were taking, and he feared impeachment. There is no doubt that Gov. Bullock apprehended impeachment, and it was a



subtle stroke to resign, before the new Legislature met, and not only escape this, but devolve the State government upon Mr. Conley, instead of the President of the new Senate.

Gov. Bullock wrote a letter from New York giving his reasons for resignation, in which he took a parting and malicious blow at the State. He stated that a majority of the House of Representatives had pledged themselves to vote for articles of impeachment against him without investigation, and that the Senate had determined to unseat a sufficient number of Republican Senators to secure his conviction without regard to the truth and validity of the charges. He also charged that the people of Georgia had recently denounced or ignored the Constitution of the United States. This letter created a deep indignation against the fugitive, and the General Assembly by solemn resolution branded it as false and defamatory.

The resignation of Gov. Bullock evoked earnest attention over the whole country. The comment was uniformly unfavorable, and some of it stinging. The New York *World* said he was

"No bleeding martyr, but a spavined rogue."

The Boston *Post* declared that he

"Preferred speedy slaughter by his own act, to the more painful fate—a living Barbecue in fact."

William Markham, one of the most pronounced Republicans in Georgia, was reported in the press to have said of Bullock:

"His whole administration has been in violation of every principle of honor, and disgraceful to the Republican party, and regardless of the interest of the people of the State."

Gen. Toombs expressed, perhaps, the justest judgment upon Gov. Bullock's administration in these words:

"He certainly deserves to be impeached. He has committed a hundred offenses, any one of which is sufficient to convict him. The trouble with the fellow is that he don't know half the time when he does wrong. He does not understand the law nor the duties of his position."

In 1872, when Gov. Smith was the Executive, and the bond investigating committee discovered that the City bonds of Atlanta pledged for the payment of the \$60,000 mortgage upon the Opera House had been abstracted from the State, leaving the mortgage unpaid, a warrant drawn by Gen. Toombs charging Gov. Bullock with the larceny of these bonds was issued, and upon it a Requisition was made upon Governor Hoffman of New York for Gov. Bullock, Col. John B. Cumming being the State's agent. Gov. Hoffman objected to the affidavit. Gen.





Toombs drew another one, very lengthy and technical, and a new Requisition was issued, Col. Cumming reaching Albany Saturday, March 30, 1872. Gov. Hoffman still objected. Gov. Smith sent a tart telegraph, expressing the opinion that Gov. Hoffman was quibbling. On Tuesday Gov. Hoffman issued his warrant for Gov. Bullock's arrest, and Col. Cumming proceeded to Albion, New York, to find his game gone, and a broken down horse in the stable. From this time on he was hiding out, avoiding arrest.

The Atlanta *Constitution* had this editorial written by the writer at that time, that expressed the sentiment of the good people of Georgia:

"The career of Bullock is a fine instance of extraordinary alternations of human vicissitude.

"Bubbled to the surface amid the convulsions of political disorder and social turmoil, he rode for a while on a despotic pre-eminence as a stranger Executive of the proud State of Georgia. The absolute supremacy of his power and his cool disdain of trammels for three years constitute a picture of bold, evil rule not often seen, and admirable in its malicious and tyrannical consistency. The man made and unmade Legislatures, toyed with the State's sacred sovereignty like a worthless bauble, swayed the judiciary, and scattered the people's money with the lavish liberality of a prince, and the reckless caprice of a munificent madman.

"He preserved his gorgeous deportment amid it all, arrayed like a monarch, imposing in presence, smiling and affable, the princely, imperturbable and benignant patron of thieves and adventurers.

"His abdication came like a lightning stroke in the very zenith of his power. Down the metallic deity fell with a long descent and a dull thud. Governors have played the game of justice over the highcockolorum fugitive, and to-day sees him a miserable skulker from the offended law; and an outcast from home, friends, society and government."

In 1876, Gov. Smith made a successful attempt to arrest Gov. Bullock, sending Col. O. P. Fitzsimmons, recent United States Marshal of Georgia. Gov. Bullock gave bail easily. The case lingered for a year or two in the courts. Gen. L. J. Gartrell was his leading counsel. On the final trial, the proof connecting him criminally with the frauds on the State was not sufficient, and he was acquitted.

In estimating Gov. Bullock's administration, the time has hardly come to do it exact justice. It has been too recent. It was an eventful one all through. It was rancorous, turbulent, revolutionary. It was in antagonism to the good people of the State. It was frightfully bad. And yet the times were conducive to much of the wrong. Bullock was warped by provocation, by necessity, by desperate stress, by unprincipled connections, by horribly evil counsel. He was naturally a clever, amiable, correctly disposed person. He started wrong and never got right.



He had to contend with an opposition that was sensitive and soured, that had been harried and was resentful, whose chivalry and honor were both inflamed almost to madness by believed outrage, that he justified. He had neither tact, statesmanship nor congeniality with the people of Georgia. He represented a party, composed mainly of newly enfranchised negroes and foreign adventurers, that pressed an odious public policy. He was the agent of a disagreeable mission. He not only did not lighten its severities, but he increased them. At best, he must have evoked dissatisfaction. He did the worst that could have been done, and he drew execration. He resented it, and the conflict between him and the people became reckless and unsparing on both sides.

It was a desperate conception that he carried through, to uprear accomplished reconstruction, because his power was not as absolute as he wished. His very success in the doing of this unspeakable wrong, made the way easy to every species of Executive dereliction, since Congress, in the caprices of reconstruction tyranny, seemed willing to commit any enormity and approve any crime at the behest of its loyal Southern dynasties. Had the certainty of responsibility been sure, many risks of transcended authority would not have been taken.

But be the temptation what it may, Gov. Bullock's term was continuously worthy of censure. It grew in its criminality. It was unbrokenly evil. Every step was marked by personal scheming, disregard of natural feeling, wasteful extravagance, violations of law and wanton attempts to degrade the State's autonomy. These are hard words. But they are coldly deserved. The simple, undeniable official facts justify them. And not the least censurable feature of this painful episode of evil, was that it was successfully achieved by the vile weapon of State defamation under the hypocritical pretext of the public interest.

Honest men enough at the North were made to believe that the Christian people of Georgia were such a set of piratical law-breakers and brutal conspirators against legitimate Federal authority, as to demand the very dissolution of government, and the substitution of an armed anarchy for the protection of society and obedience to Federal power. The whole rule of Gov. Bullock, in the writer's judgment, was crime—against the State, the Nation, and humanity. That rule fitly ended. It went out in disgrace and amid public rejoicing. And it will live in the cool, clear future as the darkest era of Georgia history.



## CHAPTER XLII.

### THE FINAL ACT OF JOYOUS STATE REDEMPTION.

The Legislature of 1871.—An able Body.—Its vast Work.—Its Personelle.—L. N. Trammell.—James M. Smith.—Prolongation Again.—Gov. Conley and Bullock's Term.—Democratic Moderation.—President Trammell's Patriotic Sacrifice.—Election.—Conley's Term.—Its Good and Bad.—Democratic Convention.—James M. Smith Nominated and Elected Governor.—The Republican Perplexity.—Gov. Smith's Inauguration.—The Public Joy.—Foreign Comment.—The New York *World* on Georgia.—Obituary on Georgia Radicalism from the Atlanta *Constitution*.—Ex-Gov. C. J. Jenkins' Superb Letter.—He Restores the Great Seal of the State.—The Dark Period of Reconstruction Rule.—The Fateful Decade from Secession to Complete Restoration.—An Era of Red Terror and Black Misrule.—The Proud Spectacle of Regenerated Georgia.

THE Legislature convened on the first day of November, 1871, two days after President Benjamin Conley, of the Senate, took Bullock's place as Governor. This body was an unusually able one, and it assembled under circumstances of unspeakably grave public import. Its work was incalculably important, and while it made some mistakes, its general action was able and patriotic. Twenty-two of the old Senators held over and twenty-two new ones were elected. Among the new ones were some very strong men. In fact, nearly every one of the new Senators was a public man of recognized power in popular leadership. Among them were R. E. Lester, John C. Nichols, L. C. Hoyle, B. B. Hinton, R. Jones, Charles C. Kibbee, T. J. Simmons, E. Steadman, William M. Reese, W. S. Erwin, M. V. Estes, George Hillyer, James R. Brown, and L. N. Trammell.

T. J. Simmons has been President of the Senate, and is now Judge of the Macon Circuit. A tall, fine-looking gentleman with heavy blonde whiskers, a most genial person, Judge Simmons has been a valuable and successful public man. He has never been beaten. Judge William Reese was an ornament to the Bench and an incomparable legislator. Clear, positive, practical, honest, he has had great weight in every deliberative body in which he has served. George Hillyer is now Judge of the Atlanta Circuit, and fast building into an enviable reputation as a jurist. James R. Brown is a brother of Gov. Brown, and has





many of the strong characteristics of his more famous kinsman. He is now Judge of the Blue Ridge Circuit, and both in the legislative chamber and upon the bench has been marked by fine practical sense, thorough courage and immovable honesty.

Hon. L. N. Trammell was unanimously elected President of the Senate, by a voice vote, without even the formality of a written ballot. This was a deserved tribute to Mr. Trammell, and no gentleman has ever sustained himself as a presiding officer with more parliamentary skill and personal dignity. His administration was simply perfect. Quick, impartial, firm, courteous, thoroughly versed in parliamentary law, he governed the deliberations of the Senate with consummate tact.

The House also had some marked men on its roll. There was John W. Wofford, W. H. Payne, Isaac Russell, Emanuel Heidt, W. D. Anderson, E. D. Graham, R. W. Phillips, Morgan Rawls, Dunlap Scott, M. R. Ballenger, E. F. Hoge, Henry Jackson, J. C. Fain, R. L. McWhorter, W. E. Simmons, Garnett McMillan, Geo. F. Pierce, J. W. Murphy, G. W. Bryan, W. P. Johnson, H. W. Riley, S. E. Field, J. M. Smith, J. F. Pou, L. J. Alfred, M. H. Bunn, J. H. Guerrey, J. B. Cumming, Claiborne Snead, C. B. Hudson, J. C. Dell, John I. Hall, J. W. Renfroe. Of all these bright gentlemen, perhaps there was none of them more brilliant than Garnett McMillan. He possessed a fervent, flashing mind. He died several years after. W. E. Simmons was a person of unusually strong intelligence. W. H. Payne was a man of cool, substantial caliber. George F. Pierce has been almost continuously since in legislatures and conventions, and has an oratory almost equal to his gifted uncle, Bishop Pierce. He is now Solicitor of one of the judicial circuits.

W. P. Johnson was a son of H. V. Johnson, and a young man of bright brain. J. W. Renfroe has since been State Treasurer for five years, making a wonderful administration. Claiborne Snead is now Judge of the Augusta Circuit, and a young man of uncommon power. One of the most notable men in this body was John I. Hall, who has been Judge of the Flint Circuit. He has been a warm friend of Gov. James M. Smith. Judge Hall has been one of the cleverest political managers in the State, with a singularly practical vision of the public temper, and a wary, shrewd use of political opportunities. A very promising young man was Henry Jackson, eldest son of Gen. Henry R. Jackson, who has figured so brilliantly in Georgia History in the last quarter of a century. Whether as a lawyer or legislator, Capt. Henry Jackson has been a marked young man. He has been Reporter of the



Supreme Court for nearly ten years, making as efficient an official as the lamented Thos. R. R. Cobb, whose daughter he married.

The House organized by the selection of James M. Smith as speaker. Col. Smith had been a gallant officer in the war, and a member of Congress. He was a person of solid, powerful build, with a square resolute face, and an appearance of rugged strength that betokened the type of his mind. A self-made man, originally a blacksmith, Col. Smith, who afterwards became Governor, was a strong and rising character. He was an able lawyer and an effective political speaker. At the time of his election as Speaker, he was in a law co-partnership with Col. P. W. Alexander, the famous war correspondent, "P. W. A." Col. James D. Waddell was elected Clerk of the House.

The important question that confronted the Legislature was, who should be Governor, Benjamin Conley, President of the last Senate, whose term had expired, and who was no longer a senator or president, or L. N. Trammell, who was the President of the existing Senate? The Constitution devolved the duties of Governor upon the President of the Senate. The Democrats claimed that when Mr. Conley ceased to be President of the Senate, he had no right to act as Governor, and when Mr. Trammell became President of the Senate he became endowed with the right to discharge the Executive duties. That this was the law the best lawyers agreed, and it was the legal solution of this very vital issue.

Gov. Conley not only claimed the right to be Governor, but he maintained that he should serve as Executive for the whole balance of Gov. Bullock's term. Prolongation had been the Republican theory, and it was pursued in this instance fearlessly. It was a fitting and picturesque termination of reconstruction rule, that it should be marked by this battle for the Governorship, this contest for the executive authority. There never has been a finer piece of political moderation than the conduct of the Democrats in this emergency. Nor has there ever been a loftier exhibition of patriotic self-sacrifice than the action of President Trammell in foregoing his undeniable right to step into the august honors of the executive office.

In a spirit of conciliation and conservatism, admirable and conclusive in falsifying the slanderous aspersions upon democratic peacefulness, the Legislature permitted Gov. Conley to hold until an election, and passed a bill to have an election on the 3d of December, 1871. Gov. Conley vetoed the bill. But it was passed over his veto. The Republicans made a prodigious noise over this measure, and denounced it as



revolutionary. But it was all in vain. With a quiet firmness, the Democratic policy was carried out, and the work of State regeneration proceeded to its complete consummation.

Gov. Conley's administration was a very great improvement on Gov. Bullock's. He did some commendable things. He did some acts for which he was severely censured. He stopped immediately Gov. Bullock's extravagant proclamation business. He paid out some \$25,188 of the contingent fund in the two months and twelve days of his incumbency. He also pardoned Foster Blodgett for all possible charges against him growing out of the State Road administration. For these two acts he received much popular animadversion. He had several lively conflicts with the Legislature. He vetoed a bill reducing legislative pay to seven dollars from nine; another continuing the session five days beyond the constitutional forty days; another repealing a Bullock law remitting the payment of poll tax for the past three years; another repealing the District court law; another repealing the India rubber twentieth section of the appropriation act under which Gov. Bullock had spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on every species of claim; and another authorizing an investigation of our bonds.

These were all party battles, and were made by Gov. Conley to press Republican strategy. The tussle between Conley and the Democrats became right animated. He was game and personally honest, but he was an uncompromising partisan, and struck the democracy every hard blow that he could. No charge of inconsistency could move him. He had prolonged hundreds of days in the Bullock Legislature, but yet he vigorously stormed over the alleged outrage of Democratic prolongation of five days to wind up business. He took \$9 a day for 320 days, but condemned Democratic extravagance that wanted \$7 a day. He was scored roundly with these inconsistencies, but it made no difference. He pounded away vigorously upon the Democrats, and he gave them a deal of trouble, and kept them actively retorting.

The Democratic convention to nominate a candidate for Governor, met in Atlanta, on the 6th day of December, 1871. There were 372 delegates from 134 counties. Among the delegates were Barney Hill, T. G. Holt, C. C. Kibbee, M. Rawls, R. T. Fouche, J. C. Fain, T. M. Peebles, W. E. Simmons, A. D. Candler, G. F. Pierce, B. B. Hinton, H. L. Benning, M. Blanford, L. F. Garrard, P. W. Alexander, A. R. Lamar, L. J. Alfred, J. C. Nicholls, J. T. Clarke, J. B. Cumming, C. F. Crisp, C. W. Hancock, C. J. Wellborn, I. E. Shumate, J. A. W. Johnson and William M. Reese. This was the first political appearance of a





very bright young man, C. F. Crisp, son of a distinguished theatrical actor. Mr. Crisp is now Judge of the South-western Circuit, and is a rising jurist.

Hon. Julian Hartridge was elected Chairman of the Convention. The contest was between Herbert Fielder, Gen. W. T. Wofford and Col. James M. Smith. Fielder and Wofford withdrew, and Smith was unanimously nominated. A new Executive Committee was appointed, consisting of Clifford Anderson, E. F. Hoge, J. B. Cumming, C. W. Styles, J. C. Dell, J. H. Hunter, C. C. Kibbee, W. O. Fleming, A. R. Lamar, H. Buchanan, A. D. Hammond, J. I. Hall, G. F. Pierce, J. D. Mathews, G. McMillan, W. E. Simmons, J. T. Burns, and C. D. McCutchen.

The Republicans finally declined to run a candidate. Col. H. P. Farrow published a letter afterwards, giving an interesting account of the Republican perplexity. A caucus was held at the capitol, consisting of J. Johnson, John S. Bigby, J. R. Parrott, Madison Bell, R. L. Mott and others. The Bullock administration was the incubus. There seems to have been an entire repudiation of Bullock's rule. They "were in no way connected with the Bullock ring." Foster Blodgett's resignation as Chairman of the Executive Committee was received, and James Atkins was nominated for Governor. Col. Atkins declined. Among the phrases used in this Republican caucus were such as "the shameful administration of Gov. Bullock;" "fled the country dishonored, yet 'unwept, unhonored and unsung!'" and "betrayed in every essential particular the confidence of the party."

James M. Smith was elected Governor, the fact that there was no opposition causing a light vote, only 39,705; and Gov. Conley in his message transmitting the ballots to the General Assembly, with some bitterness, but incorrectly, claimed that the smallness of the vote demonstrated that the people of Georgia did not desire an election to fill the unexpired term of Gov. Bullock. The Governor elect resigned his place as Speaker, and Jos. B. Cumming was elected in his place.

On the 12th day of January, 1872, Gov. James M. Smith was inaugurated amid universal rejoicing. The Representative Chamber was packed. Gov. Smith was accompanied by the State officials and Judges, Gen. Toombs, Gen. Colquitt, ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown, P. W. Alexander and others. His inaugural was a concise, earnest address, that was fully applauded. He used this expression:

"Recurring to the occasion which has brought us together to-day, it cannot escape the most careless observer, that we have assembled under circumstances of an extraor-



inary character. The late Governor, whose unexpired term of office I have been chosen to fill, is a voluntary fugitive from the State of his adoption. During his brief incumbency there has been an addition of untold millions to the public debt. He has left the finances of the State in the utmost confusion and disorder."

No words can convey the depth and fervor of the public joy over this restoration of a rule resting on the free choice of the people. Over the length and breadth of the commonwealth welled up one universal, deep-souled acclaim of gladness. There was a double satisfaction in the event, the end of misrule and the inauguration of good government. The despotism of the bayonet was gone, and it seemed as if we had, after an unspeakable pilgrimage, reached the promised land.

Nor was the rejoicing confined to Georgia. From every part of the Union came back to us congratulations and the responsive echoes of our delight. Some of the comments were very striking. The *New York World* in particular made the event the subject of some reflections that contain a profound philosophy, and well merit quotation. Said this journal:

"Georgia, more than any of the Southern states, has suffered from the process of reconstruction, and her present deliverance is an ample proof of how futile that process has been. All the powers of the Federal Government—the army, the treasury, the courts—have been exhausted to keep her in a certain position, and at the first election we find her escaping out of that condition and assuming a position of her own. Had it been some powerful Northern state, like New York, or Massachusetts, or Illinois, that had been time and again bound hand and foot, and yet burst its bonds almost in the instant they had been completed, the wonder would not be great; but that a beaten and impoverished commonwealth like Georgia has risen superior to the whole strength of the Administration is something amazing. It shows how little real root there is in centralization, and how fully able a State is to cope with the whole Federal Government when that Government is prostituted to party ends. Nothing that Congress could do—nothing that the President could do—has been able to keep this State in that vassalage to which Congress and the President bent all their energies to reduce her. It has been impossible to keep the cork under water, whatever the superimposed force. No less than seven acts of Congress were leveled at Georgia; no less than three times was her civil establishment superseded by martial law; and the end of it all is that the State is to-day just where it was in 1866—in absolute and entire control of her own people. The reconstructed legislature is gone, the reconstructed judiciary is gone, the reconstructed Governor is a fugitive thief, the bayonets are gone, the laws are inoperative, and, in the language of the ring, the State, after an infinitude of punishment, comes up to the scratch smiling and knocks its antagonist out of time."

If the public happiness was great over the exhilarating spectacle, that one of Georgia's own sons, by her own untrammelled suffrages, sat in her honorable Executive seat, there was an equally profound sense of relief, that the dismal reign of Radical misgovernment had ended forever.



The writer at that time gave expression to the popular feeling in the following editorial article in the *Atlanta Constitution*, which a general reproduction in the State press attested to be the public conception of the defunct reconstruction dynasty, and which, though written in the haste of rapid preparation and with the over-coloring due the feverish times, presents the truth:

### "OBITUARY.

#### GEORGIA RADICALISM.

Perished through its own corruption,

12 M., January 12th, 1872,

In Atlanta, Ga.,

In the Representative Chamber of the General Assembly,  
And by the free ballots of the virtuous people it outraged,

The detestable body of

GEORGIA RADICALISM.

It was aborted

January 30th, 1868,

Of the horrible rape of State Sovereignty

By the brutal Bayonet.

It lived three years, eleven months and twenty seven days,

A ghastly thing

Of ceaseless, infinite, unnamable

VILLAINY.

It debauched the

STATE'S CHIEF MAGISTRACY

Into a hissing term of loathsome scorn,

And a glaring by-word of ignominious reproach.

It clutched in its leprous grasp the

STATE'S PURE JUDICIARY,

And bedraggled it in slime

Until its spotless ermine was as black and offensive,

As Radicalism's own adored Africa.

It transformed the

STATE'S GREAT LEGISLATURE

Into a howling pandemonium of indecency and plunder,

An unconvicted penitentiary of thieves, blackguards and felons,

In which a few good men

Made the large majority of its members

More conspicuously infernal by the tremendous contrast.

Politics it reduced to a scientific scheme of

POLITICAL HARLOTRY.

Hypocritically making a hobby of Education,

It Stole

Every dollar of the State Educational Fund.

In the name of justice,

It turned loose the imprisoned convicts





Of the whole broad State,  
 To recruit its corrupt ranks and create crime.  
 It ascribed this crime to the virtuous people,  
     To perpetuate its power  
 By making such purposed disorder  
     A diabolical pretext  
 For the overthrow of State government,  
 And the interference of national despotism  
     To crucify the commonwealth  
     For the Radical benefit.  
     It made the State  
         A HELL,  
 In practice for its own certain destination.  
     It pounced its ravenous claws  
 On the State's giant property, its great railroad,  
 With the rabid rapacity of a hungry hyena,  
     And its plan of gobblement will glare  
 Through the accumulated rottenness of ages  
     An unequaled model for all  
     Big and bold-schemed bandits.  
     If it had a single virtue,  
 Concentrated microscopic partiality  
     Has failed to find it.  
 Malice knows no crime it has not committed,  
     While it has enriched  
     The catalogue of Satan  
 With its new and devilish devices  
     Of Evil.  
     To the State's honor  
     Be it eternally said  
 That it found little State stuff,  
     Vile enough for its use.  
     It imported  
 Its scamps from the moral North,  
     And the hegira  
 Of its gorged buzzards home  
     Under the law's lash,  
     Leaves little of its organism  
     Save the deluded masses  
 Of its despised, robbed and ignorant  
     AFRICANS,  
     Who rue its rule,  
     And curse its existence.  
 It spewed all the good men from its association,  
 And left them sick, shocked and stranded  
     On the great rock  
     Of a remediless political blunder.  
 But we cannot hope to do it justice.



Words are unequal to the task.  
 What evil it did not do  
 Was not from want of venom  
 But of physical capacity,  
 The hottest torture  
 It will know in the flames  
 Of its inevitable home will be  
 Its own unappeased malignity,  
 Its hungry disappointment at unaccomplished crimes.

To sum up its record  
 It has broken every law,  
 Violated every decency, betrayed every trust,  
 Injured every interest, hurt every industry,  
 Wronged every citizen, neglected every duty,  
 Committed every crime, omitted every virtue.  
 It has done falsehood, theft, hypocrisy,  
 Slander, perjury, oppression, blasphemy,  
 Murder, treason and sacrilege.  
 Hereafter among Shame's penalties,  
 The most stinging blazonry of Scorn  
 Will be the mere fact  
 That a man was

*Of it.*

Its short career constituted  
 GEORGIA'S DARK DAYS.  
 Its downfall  
 Makes up a joy and a blessing  
 As bright and blissful  
 As its rule was dark.  
 And language cannot convey that.  
 Its epitaph  
 No time can obliterate  
 From the hearts of future  
 As well as present generations.  
 It is this:

CURSES ON ITS MEMORY."

It may well be conceived that a rule that drew such contemporaneous expression of conservative opinion had been black and heavy indeed. On the 30th day of January, 1868, Gov. Jenkins was removed by Gen. Meade. On the 4th day of July, 1868, Gov. Bullock assumed to be Chief Magistrate as Provisional Governor. On the 21st day of July, 1868, he was sworn in to the Executive trust. On the 30th day of October, 1871, he resigned. And on the 12th day of January, 1872, Gov. James M. Smith was installed as the Executive. From the 30th day of January, 1868, to the 12th day of January, 1872, of this never-to-be



forgotten epoch of a foreign and hostile rule, it was four years lacking eighteen days.

One touching act of restored sovereignty needs record to complete the picture of joyful State redemption. Ex-Gov. Charles J. Jenkins, with the conclusion of military domination, returned from his long exile and gave back to the custody of a lawful Executive the great Seal of State, and certain executive papers that he had taken with him. The letter of ex-Gov. Jenkins, in discharging this agreeable duty, is a paper of exquisite diction, lofty sentiment and noble dignity. There is no document among the great records of this or any other State or Government to surpass this superb emanation of an exalted and patriotic statesmanship. It presents the chronicle of the abhorred rape of our State's sovereignty, and his own dutiful efforts to protect the commonwealth from ignominy, in fitting language and an heroic spirit. Breathing the sentiment of liberty and law, speaking a broad devotion to the principles of a constitutional government, imbued with the heroism of martyrdom for the right, and maintaining in lofty words the obligations of personal honor and official responsibility, this great enunciation of the noble Jenkins was alike an immeasurable rebuke to the evil dynasty it followed and a glorious inauguration of Georgia's regenerated majesty.

This peerless paper thus characteristically concluded in words deserving forever to live:

"The removal of the books and papers was simply a cautionary measure for my own protection. Not so with the seal. That was a symbol of the Executive authority, and although devoid of intrinsic material value, was hallowed by a sentiment which forbade its surrender to unauthorized hands. Afterwards, whilst I was in Washington, vainly seeking the interposition of the Supreme Court, a formal, written demand was made upon me by General Ruger for a return of these articles, with which I declined to comply. The books and papers I herewith transmit to your Excellency, that they may resume their place among the archives of the State. With them I also deliver to you the seal of the Executive Department. I derive high satisfaction from the reflection that it has never been desecrated by the grasp of a military usurper's hand, never been prostituted to authenticate official misdeeds of an upstart pretender. Unpolluted as it came to me, I gladly place it in the hands of a worthy son of Georgia—her freely chosen Executive—my first legitimate successor."

Counting the years from the 19th of January, 1861, the day of secession, to the 12th of January, 1872, which witnessed the complete restoration of the wandering star of Georgia to the orbit of the Union, a period of eleven years lacking one week, and we see what must ever be the most stupendous era of her history in its events and changes. The mind fairly reels in the retrospection of this turbulent decade. It is such an





historic picture as the future chronicler will dwell upon with wonder and awe, and portray with a pulsing pen.

Starting from an unparalleled prosperity and progress in a sunny peace, the lordly craft, cut from its moorings by its own friendly hands, shot into the fiercest storm of human annals. There was no extreme of woe, blood, wreck, ravage, anarchy, misrule, despotism and shame that it had not suffered to the very dregs. War was terrible; peace proved more so. Failure seemed the culmination of ignominy; fortune showed the mistake. An evil destiny fatigued its invention in the supplement of grotesque dishonors it swarmed upon a shattered commonwealth.

The story of shade, blight and rancor can never be exceeded. To see a community of a million of people tossed for eleven long years in such a drift of mad event is something touching, and full of awe. 'It looked as if a dark fate delighted in expending its endless catalogue of horrors upon one poor republic. The unconquerable vitality of a fine statehood was shown in this iron ordeal. Like a repressed giant, the spirit of our free people was indomitable and asserted itself with resistless force. As soon can the untamable wind be cribbed, as to curb the aspiring life of a manly breed of men.

It was a decade picturesque with red terror and black misrule. It piled woe after woe upon the State. It furnished prodigally every experience of human suffering, and every fantastic phase of misgovernment. But through it all, a Christian citizenry carried its honor, its spirit of freedom, its integrity and its religious civilization, sacredly preserved, and the very second that marked the withdrawal of the rude grasp of repressive power saw the proud and instantaneous spectacle of a re-established State nationality, erect, perfect, and august, the very incarnation of an enlightened popular sovereignty—REGENERATED GEORGIA.



## CHAPTER XLIII.

### GEORGIA'S FAMOUS EXPURGATION OF FRAUDULENT BONDS.

Ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown's Emergence from Odium.—His Opposition to Bullock's Schemes.—The Seeley Trick Rebuked.—The State Road Lease.—Gov. Brown Resolves to Fight a Duel with Gen. Toombs.—The Correspondence.—Official Changes.—J. G. Orr.—Gov. Smith's Staff.—P. W. Alexander.—J. W. Warren.—T. M. Norwood Elected United States Senator.—The Great Bond Question.—The Bond Committee, Simmons, Hall and McMillan.—Report.—Statement of Bonds.—The Bonds Rejected.—The New Legislature.—Its Personelle.—T. L. Sneed and his Bond Compromise.—A Measure of State and National Agitation.—Letters of Leading Georgians upon it.—The Constitution of 1877 Settles the Bond Matter Finally.

It was a significant fact that ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown accompanied Gov. Smith to be inaugurated. The long and painful separation from his former political allies was coming to a fitting close. It was destined to be still a long time before he came back to the full political fellowship that was due to his sincerity of conviction and thorough courage. While in no way had the merited bitterness against the venal reconstructionists abated, the public mind was discriminating, and men occupying Gov. Brown's position were getting a correcter judgment. Gov. Brown sturdily antagonized the wrongs of the Bullock régime, and he effectively opposed the iniquitous attempts at additional gratuitous reconstruction acts for Radical partisan purposes. No man was more devoted to the best interest of Georgia than he, and while he was for acquiescing in inevitable hardship, he was the last man in the State to seek the imposition of superfluous ignominy upon the people.

A man by the name of Isaac Seeley sent out a circular urging that affidavits be gotten up to show that voters were denied the right to vote by challenges for non-payment of taxes, and if necessary, Republicans must challenge each other at the polls. The object of this swindling trickery was to manufacture a foundation for Congress to pass an act to prevent abridgment of voting by the assessment of taxes. This was one of the innumerable Radical schemes for controlling the State through Congress that were so ingeniously used in that day. Seeley sent a circular to Gov. Brown, who, in an open letter, exposed and



denounced the villainy, and declared that the wisest thing Congress could do was to sweep from the statutes the last vestige of political disability.

The battle over the State road was hard fought, and a striking triumph for Gov. Brown. A rival company, composed mainly of Atlanta citizens, had sought to lease the road, but had been defeated by Gov. Brown's company. The most determined effort was made to break up the lease. The papers were filled with the subject. It was brought before the legislature. A joint committee was appointed to investigate and report upon the fairness or unfairness of the lease, composed of Senators Wm. M. Reese and A. D. Nunnally, and Representatives G. F. Pierce, Geo. M. Netherland and C. B. Hudson. The inquiry was exhaustive. Every possible witness was examined under oath. Majority and minority reports were made. There were extensive discussions. The fight was full of very hot blood and a deep conflict of moneyed interest. The purpose to break the lease was resolute and acrimonious. There was no tendency to compromise, but the fullest determination to fight it out on both sides to the bitter end.

The legislature finally sustained the lease by an overwhelming majority, and Gov. Brown had reason to be proud of his victory. He had the best metal of the State pitted against him. His management of the long conflict was a model of cool temper, sleepless vigilance and masterly force. It was curiously illustrative of the disrepute into which the expelled Bullock régime had fallen, that the heaviest burden the Seago Company, as it was called, had to carry, was the connection with it of Foster Blodgett's name. There is an interesting feature of this memorable lease that deserves mention. Nearly all of the original lessees have sold out their shares, and yet the practical anomaly is seen of the new owners, being unable under the lease law to control their property, which remains under the management of the first lessees, who alone are liable to the State, and with whom alone the lease contract was made, and who by the statute are made the directors of the company for the whole period of the lease.

We now come to a strange episode in Gov. Brown's life. He seemed destined to have every possible experience that falls to man. The drama of his career was a complete catalogue of surprises and alternations. He had been from boyhood a member of the church, a devout, pious Baptist, a man of prayer, a pillar of his denomination. His life was practically Christian. It was a powerful set of circumstances that led him deliberately to prepare to enter into a duel under the Code. Yet this he did, and Gen. Robert Toombs was his antagonist. No one contem-





plated the idea for a moment, that Gov. Brown would determine upon such an act, so foreign to his life and character. But in the long years of political proscription and personal abuse, a nature constitutionally combative, had become fired by a keen sense of injustice at the savage invective, that while much abated, still fusilladed him with considerable vigor from several quarters. Gen. Toombs, with a capacity for scathing characterization, had made Gov. Brown a special object of attack.

That Gov. Brown should resolve to check the current of vituperation was not an unnatural conclusion for a man of his inherited belligerence and stern temper. He made up his mind in his quiet way, to go to the field and fight. He secured Col. James Gardner as his second, and had every arrangement made to push this issue to extremes. The correspondence tells the whole story, which is permitted to speak for itself. The duel did not come to a meeting, owing to a hitch that will be seen in the correspondence, but it is none the less true that Gov. Brown had made up his mind to fight the duel. And it was a strange result, testifying loudly to the inconsistency of the best human nature that Gov. Brown's resolution to fight not only did him a wonderful amount of good with the ungodly, but as they felt he had long suffered great injustice and wrong it pleased his Christian friends, whose moral and religious ordinances he proposed to violate. The meekest people like pluck and spirited resistance to wrong. Gov. Brown remained in his church relations, not only not injured by his war-like episode, but with an increased respect and an enlarged church influence.

The cause of the difficulty was the following private letter, published by the *Griffin News*, on the 27th of June, 1872, to a gentleman of that city:

"WASHINGTON, June 19th, 1872.

"*Dear Sir:* I do not know the heirs of Mitchell, and do not know whether they are men, women or children, and certainly made no allusion whatever to them in the speech referred to, and I will add that I have no doubt that if they had any rights to the property referred to, they were stripped of the largest portion of their rights, as well as the State.

"The journals of the Legislature show, that in the face of a direct offer of one hundred thousand dollars for a quit-claim deed to the property in dispute made by General Austell and others, and of the unanimous opinion of all the lawyers employed in the case by Bullock, except one, that the title of the State was clear, the Legislature accepted the offer of thirty-five thousand dollars from Lochrane, Kimball and Brown, who engineered the bill through the Legislature in the name of the Mitchell heirs.

"The term 'orphans of Mitchell' was applied to them in derision of the pretenses, under which the people were stripped of their property for the use of these 'orphans.'

"This action of the Legislature was the result of bribery, pure and simple. The



acceptance of the thirty thousand dollars in lieu of the hundred thousand offered under the circumstances contained in the journals is conclusive proof of that fact.

"I did state further, that as far as my knowledge extended, all of the public plunderers who pretended to be Democrats, from Tammany Hall down to the smallest petty larceny thief on the State Road, were Greeley men, and so is the fact.

"The spoliators of every party in this country dread nothing so much as the return to power of the State Rights Democratic party of the United States. That party is the terror of all the enemies of the public by whatever name they may be called.

"I am very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

"R. TOOMBS."

Gov. Brown made this reply in the *Constitution* of July 3, 1872:

"ATLANTA, GA., July 2, 1872.

"*Editors Constitution*: My attention has been called to a letter published in the *Griffin Daily News*, signed R. Toombs, in reference to the passage of the resolution of the Legislature of 1870, compromising the litigation between the heirs of Samuel Mitchell and the State of Georgia, in which Gen. Toombs uses the following language:

"'The Legislature accepted the offer of \$35,000 from Lochrane, Kimball and Brown, who engineered the bill through the Legislature in the name of the Mitchell heirs. The term 'orphans' of Mitchell was applied to them in derision of the pretenses under which the people were stripped of this property, for the use of these 'orphans.' This action was the result of bribery pure and simple. . . . I did state further that as far as my knowledge extended, all the public plunderers who pretended to be Democrats, from Tammany Hall down to the smallest petty larceny thief on the State Road, were Greeley men, and so is the fact.'

"Now if Gen. Toombs intends by his language to say that I have been guilty of bribery in 'engineering' this bill through the Legislature, I pronounce his statement an infamous falsehood and its author an unscrupulous liar.

"Very respectfully,

"JOSEPH E. BROWN."

Judge Lochrane published an aggressive and denunciatory reply to Gen. Toombs, in which he argued the facts, and thus concluded:

"Too long have the interests of Georgia been cursed by the bewildering folly of Toombs. May the God of justice interpose to save the State from the further infliction of his pestilential influence, and as the State has heretofore been spared his precedent, may Providence, in the future, spare her the curse of his parallel."

This very neat piece of abuse is given, as in Gen. Toombs' reply there is some clever counter-accrimination. The contest between these two was merely wordy. The difficulty with Gov. Brown was a serious affair, and he meant fight, and conducted the correspondence to that end. Gen. Toombs sent Col. John C. Nicholls on the 9th of July, 1872, to Gov. Brown, to informally inquire if he would give Gen. Toombs satisfaction under the Code. Gov. Brown, in a very polite, but as he considered it a very positive conversation, gave the assurance plainly, as he thought, that he would give satisfaction when called on by Gen. Toombs. After



Col. Nicholls retired Gov. Brown at once telegraphed his friend, Col. Gardner, at Augusta, requesting him to come to Atlanta by the first train. Col. Gardner arrived on the early morning train of the 10th. Gov. Brown called on him immediately, and gave him a full statement of the interview between him and Col. Nicholls. Col. Gardner told him his only mistake was, that he did not have all communication on the subject conducted in writing—that if Col. Nicholls should have misunderstood him, or should give a different version of the conversation, it might be unfortunate. Col. Gardner then advised Gov. Brown to see Col. Nicholls without delay, and agree in writing, what was said in the interview. It was early in the morning, and Gov. Brown at once inquired of the hotel-keeper for Col. Nicholls' room. But he was informed that Col. Nicholls had left the previous evening for his home in Southern Georgia. He was also informed that Gen. Toombs had left very early that morning for his residence in Washington, Ga., and curiously enough Col. Gardner was assigned to Gen. Toombs' vacated room. As neither Gen. Toombs nor Col. Nicholls were in Atlanta, it was not then in his power to see Col. Nicholls to reduce the conversation to writing, nor to communicate it immediately in writing to Gen. Toombs. Col. Gardner then advised him to reduce the conversation just as it occurred to writing, and forward it by express immediately to Gen. Toombs, at his home, so that there could be no dispute about its receipt by him. This Gov. Brown did, and sent the written statement to Gen. Toombs by the express of that day, and took the receipt of the express company for the communication, which he was informed by the expressmen was promptly delivered.

This communication, so far as it relates to the interview between Col. Nicholls and Gov. Brown, is copied into Gov. Brown's card to the public, dated July 17, 1872, and need not be inserted here. The address and the memorandum referring to Col. Gardner's advice to see Col. Nicholls, and have the conversation reduced to writing immediately, are omitted.

On the 16th of July, Gen. Toombs published the following article in the *Atlanta Sun*, dated the 11th.

[From the *Sun*.]

“WASHINGTON, GA., July 11, 1872.

“*To the Editors of the Sun:* A brace of ex-Chief Justices, of this State, honored me with their notice and vituperation in *The Constitution* of the 3d instant. There were a trio of these *chevaliers d'industrie* engaged in the transactions referred to. The third member of the firm (Mr. H. I. Kimball) is absent from the State, I suppose, ‘from circumstances beyond his control.’ These assaults excite no surprise.

“Since the adjournment of that band of public plunderers whom General Terry and





Bullock installed as the Legislature of Georgia in October, 1870, I have devoted much of my time and strength in endeavoring to secure the persons of these accomplices in guilt, and to preserve the evidence of their crimes from destruction, until the criminal laws could be enforced against them, and a 'free parliament of the people' could assemble to aid the administration of justice, and wrest from the grasp of the spoilers so much of their ill-gotten gains as might be within the reach of law or legislation.

"These efforts have not been wholly unavailing, and I trust I have been able to render some small service to some of the very able and efficient committees whom the Legislature have charged with the consummation of this great work. My small portion of the work has excited the deepest enmity of the whole gang of spoilers against me. I accept it as some evidence that I have not labored wholly in vain.

"It is worthy of notice in the beginning, that not a single statement made by me in the publication to which they refer, is denied by either Lochrane or Brown. They do not deny that they, in connection with Kimball, engineered through the Legislature the resolution ceding the Railroad Park property in Atlanta, in the name of the heirs of Mitchell; nor that the Legislature accepted thirty-five thousand dollars from their clients in the face of a responsible offer of one hundred thousand dollars for a quit-claim deed to the same property; nor that this action of the Legislature was the result of bribery, pure and simple; nor that the acceptance of the thirty-five thousand dollars in lieu of the one hundred thousand dollars offered under the circumstances contained in the journals, is conclusive of that fact. Here are the specific charges contained in my letter, and the proof referred to, to sustain them.

"I shall dismiss the reply of Lochrane very summarily. Treachery, mendacity, venality, servility to Bullock and the Radical gang, rottenness in and out of office since the surrender, has so strongly stamped his character, that nothing he could now say—no new falsehood he might utter, and no new crime he might now commit would, in the least degree, affect his public reputation or his private character where he is known.

"He boasts of buying a large portion of the Park property, and of large amounts expended in its improvement, when I know that since that purchase, if purchase it be, he has been compromising his honest debts for about thirty cents on the dollar; and if the money for the improvements came out of his purse, it must have been acquired by his practices under color of his profession, or his malpractices on the Bench.

"Ex-Chief Justice Brown denies neither of the statements which I affirmed. He contents himself with quoting from my letter, and then adding: 'Now if General Toombs, by this language, intends to say that I have been guilty of bribery in engineering this bill through the Legislature, I pronounce his statement an infamous falsehood, and its author an unscrupulous liar.'

"He quoted the language, and therefore knew I did not 'say' so. If he felt in doubt about the intention—the construction of the language—he might have asked for an explanation. The propriety of this course is so obvious that no gentleman could fail to perceive it. Brown preferred hypothetical denunciation, the usual dodge of a vulgar poltroon, and played his characteristic rôle. He is extremely technical: 'If General Toombs intends by this language that I have been guilty of bribery in engineering this bill through the Legislature,' etc. I think the probabilities are very much against Brown's being *personally* engaged in the bribery. I think he is too cunning and skillful a lobbyist to run any such unnecessary risks, especially with such experts as Kimball and Lochrane, aided by Blodgett, assisting him in the work of engineering the bill through the Legislature.



"The plain history of the case, and the examination of the journals of the Legislature (the evidence to which I referred) will fully vindicate the correctness of my opinion of the transaction.

"In 1842, Charles Mitchell, with the view to secure the location of the depot of the road on his land, donated, in fee simple, by deed of warranty, five acres of land to the State for 'placing thereon the necessary buildings which may hereafter be required for public purposes at the terminus of said road.' The State entered, occupied and held undisturbed possession of this property for nearly a quarter of a century.

"In 1867, Brown and Pope brought suit for the heirs of Mitchell for the park portion of the property. No action was ever had on this suit; but in 1868, the case was carried before the Legislature, and the claim rejected. It there slept until Bullock got another reconstruction act through Congress, and he and General Terry had, by fraud and force, ejected a large number of the true representatives of the people, and replaced them with a sufficient number of his own pliant and corrupt tools to render powerless the honest men whom he could get no pretext for ejecting.

"The State being thus prostrate at the feet of the usurpers and plunderers, Bullock, their chief, with a corrupt Judiciary of his own appointment, with a venal Legislature, sounded his bugle and called his clans to the sacking of the Commonwealth.

"Lochrane was among the very first to obey the call. In July, 1870, he put in the rejected claim of the heirs of Mitchell, in a proposition to Bullock, to give him the whole of the property in dispute in the suits, except a strip of land two hundred and forty feet wide, between Lloyd and Pryor streets, where the depot then and now stands, for thirty-five thousand dollars. This property was estimated then to be worth between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand dollars, by some of the best citizens of Atlanta. The proposition was referred by Bullock to the counsel he had employed to defend the State's interests. Mr. William Dougherty, Judge Collier, Mr. Hoyt, Judge Hopkins and Mr. Nunnally, of the counsel, met, consulted, and except Nunnally, unanimously decided that the title of the State was clear and *unquestionable*, and directed one of their number so to report to the Governor.

"Judge Hopkins differs with Messrs. Dougherty, Collier and Hoyt as to the other facts, but agrees that the title of the State was clear.

"Bullock sent in Lochrane's proposition, with a false statement, as was his habit, of a material fact in the case. This message was received on the 13th of October, 1870, referred to a select committee of both houses the same day, and on the next day was reported back with a recommendation that Lochrane's proposition be accepted. The counsel for the State had no notice of the meeting of the committee, and were not present, except Nunnally, who favored Lochrane's proposition, and Judge Hopkins, who suggested to Bullock a compromise, 'on such terms as the relative vantage ground of the two parties will justify.' Lochrane represented the Mitchell heirs.

"This report was made the special order of the day for the 17th of October. It was taken up on that day. Mr. Candler, on the 14th, having moved to request the Governor to send in the opinions of the counsel for the State, his resolution, on motion of Mr. Speer, was laid on the table.

"On the 17th Mr. Candler moved a substitute reciting the offer of General Austell and others, to bid one hundred thousand dollars for a quit-claim to the Park, and providing for its acceptance and putting the property up at auction with that upset bid.

"Mr. Bradley offered as a substitute to the whole a resolution to give the heirs of Mitchell the right to sue in the courts of the State for the property, which substitute



was rejected, and the substitute of Mr. Candler was also rejected by one vote; and the report was then adopted by 22 to 11 votes.

"The Chairman of the House Committee, on the 4th of October, made the same joint report to the House. It was taken up on the 20th, and Mr. Hall moved the adoption of the Senate's report as a substitute for his own.

"Mr. Scott then submitted the offer of General Austell and twelve other citizens of Atlanta, to pay one hundred thousand dollars for the State's quit-claim deed to the property within ninety days after date; and offered a resolution providing for commissioners to put up the property at public auction; and providing further, that if the commissioners failed to get a bid of one hundred thousand dollars for a quit-claim title to the property, the Governor should be authorized to accept the proposition of the Mitchell heirs for thirty-five thousand dollars. This proposition was rejected by a vote of 49 to 73, and the Senate's substitute was adopted.

"Such is the record upon which I formed the opinion that the action was the result of bribery, pure and simple. I did not suppose that all who voted for the bill were corrupted. Some men were doubtless misled. Others, influenced by other than corrupt motives, but it is clear that the managers of the scheme of plunder profited by their betrayal of the public trust.

"The record is complete. The state's title was settled by the judgment of the Supreme Court; was clear and *indisputable*, in the opinion of four of the leading counsel of the State.

"Their opinions were suppressed by a direct vote of the Senate. The friends of the bill refused to permit the claims to go before the courts for trial, though counsel fees to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars were paid to defend the titles. Thirty-five thousand dollars was accepted from the Mitchell heirs for a property in lieu of one hundred thousand dollars offered by others, without the pretense of a reason therefor being found on the record—except Jackson's letter to Bullock—which property, within a few days after the consummation of this wickedness, with all the cloud of this corruption hanging over it, brought at public outcry over two hundred thousand dollars.

"Gov. Brown does not deny that he aided in lobbying this measure through the Legislature. He was present in the Senate when the bill was before it, as was also Lochrane, Kimball and Blodgett; and he was justly rebuked on the floor of the Senate by Mr. Candler for his conduct in this matter.

"Lobbying is a crime—a misdemeanor at common law; a crime intensified by his high judicial position.

"But there is yet a still graver charge than lobbying against the ex-Chief Justice. Before these occurred, the case of Thornton and others vs. Trammell and others, came before the Supreme Court. It was a case really against the Western and Atlantic Railroad, for the Dalton depot, and involving the same principles. The counsel for the Road objected to Brown's sitting in that case, on the ground that he was employed in the Mitchell heirs' case, which was undecided. See 39th Georgia, 208. Brown stated 'that in that case, the language of the deed is different, and *I have turned over the case with the obligation* of the fee to the other counsel. Under these circumstances,' he was adjudged by the other Judges competent to sit on the case.

"He did sit, dissented from the court, but gave no opinion. He weakened the opinion all he could by his dissent, but gave no opinion himself.

"Was that statement of Brown true? If so, he either had no claims on the Mitchell heirs for fees, or he afterwards contracted for and accepted fees while on the Bench. If





not true, he sat in a case in the decision of which he was interested, and decided in his own favor.

"It is a high crime in the highest judicial officer of the State to bring his influence to bear in any way to control the action of the Legislature. His very position may control those who have suits before him. The ordinary criminal may be in his hands. He may have power to save from just punishment for his crimes even the victim of his own perfidious debauchery.

"R. TOOMBS."

To this article of Gen. Toombs Gov. Brown made reply on the 17th of July, 1872, the day after its publication:

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"ATLANTA, GA., July 17, 1872.

*Editors Constitution:*—As Gen. Toombs has thought proper to appear again in print before the public, while a personal issue was pending between him and me, I have a very simple reply for him. In his card, dated the 11th instant, and published on the 16th, he refers to me as resorting to the usual dodge of a vulgar poltroon.

"This man, having been branded by me as an unscrupulous liar, fancied, perhaps, that he had sufficient courage to defend his personal honor, or perhaps he thought he could safely play the rôle of a bully. Accepting, therefore, the position of the injured party, and feeling no little concern about my church relations, he sent a friend to me to inquire if I held myself amenable to the code of honor. I replied as follows:

"Col. J. C. Nicholls entered my office, on the morning of the 9th instant, and said, 'I desire to see you a moment privately,' when the following conversation occurred:

"NICHOLLS—'I have come in behalf of Gen. Toombs to make an inquiry of you.'

"BROWN—'Well, sir, I will hear you.'

"NICHOLLS—'On account of your church relations, Gen. Toombs does not know whether you hold yourself amenable to the code, and while I admit this is an irregular proceeding in behalf of Gen. Toombs, I make the inquiry.'

"BROWN—'It seems to me, this course is extraordinary. Gen. Toombs has nothing to do with my church relations. If he desires to send me a communication, I am ready to receive it at any moment. I have conferred with a friend who does not reside in Atlanta, but I will telegraph him at once, and respond to a communication, if made, after referring it to him, without unreasonable delay. Are you Gen. Toombs' friend in this matter?'

"NICHOLLS—'I am not, in that sense. I expect to have nothing whatever to do with the matter. I only come to make this inquiry, at Gen. Toombs' suggestion. He may desire a little time, as he will have to get a friend who resides out of the State, for he does not wish to complicate his friends in the State.'

"BROWN—'I shall not trouble persons out of the State. I have a friend in the State who will serve me.'

"NICHOLLS—'I would like to know whether you hold yourself bound by the code?'

"BROWN—'Say to Gen. Toombs distinctly, that I am ready to receive any communication that he desires to send, and if I don't respond properly, he knows his remedy.'

"NICHOLLS—'What I have done in this instance is simply an act of friendship to Gen. Toombs, because he requested it. I expect to take no part in any unpleasant affair between you and him.'



"BROWN—'Say to Gen. Toombs I hold myself ready to give him any satisfaction which may be due him, or to which he is entitled as a gentleman.'

"This language is in Gen. Toombs' possession in writing, over my own signature. To be certain that he received it as uttered, it was sent to him, on the 10th, after he left Atlanta, by the first express to his home at Washington.

"This code-of-honor gentleman left Atlanta the day after this language was uttered. He responds in the *newspapers*. I leave the public to judge who is the poltroon, and whether Gen. Toombs preferred *newspaper* artillery to heavier metal.

"JOSEPH E. BROWN."

The following publication by Col. Nicholls, giving his version of the interview, was published on 19th of July, 1872:

"ATLANTA, July 18, 1872.

"GEN. ROBERT TOOMBS, ATLANTA, GA.:

"*Dear General*:—A card is published this morning in the *Constitution and Sun*, over the signature of Joseph E. Brown, which purports to give the verbiage of a conversation had with me on the 9th instant.

"This statement of the conversation is substantially untrue.

"Gov. Brown states that he was advised to see me 'and have me to agree in writing what occurred.' He failed to follow the advice. He has not approached me on the subject.

"As Gov. Brown has seen fit to pursue this extraordinary course, I feel that it is due to you and to myself, that you publish my statement of the conversation.

"Sincerely your friend,

"JNO. C. NICHOLLS."

"A STATEMENT OF THE MATERIAL FACTS OF A CONVERSATION HAD WITH JOSEPH E. BROWN ON THE 9TH INSTANT.

"I said: 'I call on you in behalf of Gen. Toombs to ascertain if you are responsible, in the way usual among gentlemen, for the language contained in your card of a recent date?'

"He replied, 'I am responsible for my language.'

"I then said, 'Gen. Toombs desires to know if you will give him satisfaction under the code. If he should address a note to you demanding a meeting, will you meet him in the usual way?'

"I explained that, whilst the inquiry was perhaps made in an informal manner, yet it was thought to be warranted by his well known position in the church. To this he bowed assent and answered:

"'If Gen. Toombs addresses me a note, I will consult with a friend, and then reply to it. I will answer your inquiry when he submits it in writing.' He declined to answer the question more directly.

"In my opinion, from the language and manner of Gov. Brown, he will decline to answer the inquiry in the affirmative, if submitted by you in writing. I am impressed with the conviction that it is his purpose to use a formal call, to your injury, under the constitution of this State.

[Signed]

"JNO. C. NICHOLLS.

"To GEN. ROBERT TOOMBS."

To this Gov. Brown made the following reply, concluding this episode,



which excited a profound interest at the time and a large amount of discussion:

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"ATLANTA, GA., July 20, 1872.

"*Editors Constitution*: I have read the card of Col. Nicholls, published in your paper yesterday. Between him and myself there seems to be a conflict of memory as to the verbiage and purport of the interview. But General Toombs cannot shield his poltroonery in that way, for he could not mistake the language over my own signature, sent him by express, and doubtless received by him, before he penned his last card published five days afterwards.

"Col. Nicholls, in his card, referring to my own of the previous day, says, 'Gov. Brown states that he was advised to see me, and have me to agree in writing what occurred.' This statement nowhere appears in my published card, but it does appear in a memorandum appended to my version of the interview, which was sent to Gen. Toombs by express. The proof is conclusive, therefore, that my written statement was received by Gen. Toombs.

"The verbal report of a conversation would never be the guide to a proud brave man as to what his honor demanded, when he had in writing before him, the pledge that he would receive, if he called for it, the satisfaction due a gentleman.

"JOSEPH E. BROWN."

Very fortunately a meeting did not take place, and two very valuable lives were spared, while the State was saved the spectacle of two venerable and distinguished Statesmen in a life and death encounter. Col. Nicholls erred in supposing that Gov. Brown did not mean to go to the field. And the public universally credited to Gov. Brown the firm purpose to fight.

Commenting upon this matter, "H. W. G.," in an exceedingly clever sketch of these "two masterful men," as he felicitously calls them, thus speculated on the result of a meeting:

"While I join with all good men in rejoicing that this duel was arrested, I confess that I have been wicked enough to speculate on its probable result—had it occurred. In the first place, Gen. Toombs made no preparation for the duel. He went along in his careless and kingly way, trusting, presumably, to luck and a quick shot. Gov. Brown, on the contrary, made the most careful and deliberate preparation. He made his will, put his estate in order, and then clipped all the trees in his orchard practicing with the pistol. Had the duel come off—which fortunately it did not—Gen. Toombs would have fired with his usual magnificence and his usual disregard of rule. I do not mean to imply that he would not have hit Gov. Brown; on the contrary, he might have perforated him in a dozen places at once. But one thing is sure—Gov. Brown would have clasped his long white fingers around the pistol butt, adjusted it to his gray eye and sent his bullet within the eighth of an inch of the place he had selected. I should not be surprised if he drew a diagram of Gen. Toombs, and marked off with square and compass the exact spot he wanted to hit."

Gen. Toombs had made grave charges in his card against the parties





connected with the compromise of the case between the state and the Mitchell heirs, which Gov. Brown was not willing to rest under without a statement of the facts in refutation of the charges. He was, however, advised by his friend, Col. Gardner, that he could not address any further communication to Gen. Toombs on the subject, but that he could with propriety address a communication to the public, giving all the important facts in the case. He then addressed to the editor of the *Constitution*, the writer then filling that position, the following publication, which is given to complete the record of this noted controversy that filled at that time so large a share of public thought:

"ATLANTA, GA., August 5, 1872.

"*Editor Constitution:*

"I noticed, a few days since, an abstract in your editorial of the evidence taken before the Committee appointed by the General Assembly, known as the 'Bullock Committee,' in which reference is made to the property in Atlanta, known as the Mitchell property, or park, in front of the Kimball House. It seems some testimony was taken before the Committee, which led them to conclude that there had been fraud, or improper influence in the settlement of the case, between the heirs of Mitchell and the State of Georgia.

"As I was one of the original counsel who brought the action for the recovery of this property; and of the portion then held by the city of Atlanta; and as I and my partner, Messrs. E. Waitzfelder & Co., of New York, purchased over \$50,000 worth of the property at the sale, after the compromise had been made, and paid that amount in cash; and as we are now constructing a building on a portion of it, at a cost of about \$27,000, I feel that my interest is such as to justify me in taking some notice of anything that relates to the title of the property.

"I was applied to, while practicing law with Judge Pope, prior to the time when I went upon the Supreme Bench, to bring suit in behalf of the heirs of Mitchell for the recovery, not only of the park property, lying between the passenger shed and Decatur street, but also of the property lying between the passenger shed and Alabama street, on the other side, running from Lloyd street up to Whitehall.

"Of this property, the square of five acres, bounded by Alabama, Decatur, Lloyd and Pryor streets, was originally conveyed by Samuel Mitchell to the State of Georgia, 'for placing thereon the necessary buildings which may hereafter be required for public purposes at the terminus of the State Road.' In the same deed Mitchell conveyed, for the use and purposes of said road, a space in breadth wide enough to answer for a right of way for the road, to be designated by the engineer for said purpose, through his lot, with the privilege of taking and using timber, stone and gravel, being on said space, necessary for the construction of said road. In other words, he conveyed to the State a right of way through his lot, upon which to locate the Western and Atlantic Railroad, with five acres at its terminus, for a location of the buildings required for public purposes at its terminus. Some time thereafter Mitchell also conveyed to the Macon and Western Railroad the land bounded as it now is, by Alabama, Whitehall and Pryor streets on three sides, and the Western and Atlantic Railroad, or its right of way, on the fourth, (except the corner that had been sold off, and which is now occupied as James' bank building and contiguous buildings,) which he conveyed to said road for railroad purposes *exclusively*. The state located, in connection with the railroad companies,



the general passenger shed, upon the portion of the land granted to her, and also located the road upon the right of way through Mitchell's lot to said car shed, and also located such buildings as were, at the time, thought necessary upon other portions of the five acres.

"Subsequently it was ascertained that the location where the park now is, was not well suited for purposes of the road, and that it had no special use for the portion of ground lying between the car shed and Alabama street, and a contract was made between the State, represented by the proper officer of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, and the Macon and Western Railroad, by which the State swapped to the Macon and Western R. R. the portion of land conveyed to her by Mitchell, lying south of the car shed down to Alabama street, for a piece of land belonging to the Macon and Western Railroad, where the present freight depot, platforms, etc., of the Western and Atlantic Railroad now stand. And the Western and Atlantic Railroad has located upon the piece of ground which it received from the Macon and Western Railroad in exchange for the portion of land conveyed by Mitchell to the State, its depot, platforms, etc., so that the State got for the portion of land conveyed by Mitchell the land upon which her depot, platforms, etc., now stand. She also got a location for a passenger shed, and for all tracks necessary for the working of the road.

"After the swap between the Macon and Western Railroad and the Western and Atlantic Railroad, by which the Western and Atlantic Railroad got the land she needed for her depot, the Macon and Western Railroad located its depot upon the land which it received from the State in exchange, and upon the land conveyed to it by Mitchell.

"In 1859, the State having no further use for the Park property for any railroad purpose, an act was passed by the General Assembly, authorizing the city of Atlanta to enclose and beautify it as a park. Thus the matter stood at the close of the war, when it was found that the freight depot, tracks, and probably turn-table of the Macon and Western Railroad, located on the Mitchell property, near the car-shed, obstructed Pryor street, and was a great nuisance to the city, if rebuilt, and kept up there; and it was agreed between the City and the Macon and Western Railroad that they would exchange lands, and in carrying out that agreement the Macon and Western Railroad conveyed, by *quit claim* (for she would not give a warranty), the portion of the land of the Mitchell property, which the State had swapped to her for the lands where the Western and Atlantic Railroad Depot now stands; and the portion of land conveyed to her by the Mitchell heirs, embracing the vacant space south of the Railroad, between Decatur and Lloyd streets. The Macon and Western Railroad then moved her depot out to its present location, and thus the matter stood when the Mitchell heirs applied to me and my partner to bring suit for the property. The State had received all the benefit which she desired or could need for railroad purposes under Mitchell's grant. She had her tracks located upon the right-of-way, and she had her passenger shed upon the property, and she had her freight depot upon the land which she had received in exchange for a portion of the property; and she surely could have no further claim to the property which she had exchanged for other lands upon which to locate her depot. But she had no use whatever for the Park property, for the purpose for which it was originally conveyed to her, nor had she pretended to use it for any such purpose for some eight or ten years previous to the complaint made by the heirs.

"I refused to bring the action until I had carefully examined the authorities, which I took time to do, and satisfied my own mind very clearly, that if the law were administered, there could be no doubt of the right of the heirs to recover back not only the



property conveyed to the State, for railroad purposes, and abandoned by her for that use, but the property conveyed to the Macon and Western railroad for railroad purposes *exclusively*, and also abandoned by her for railroad purposes when she exchanged it to the city.

"After a careful examination of the authorities, I advised the heirs that in my opinion, they had a right to recover, and the firm of Brown & Pope was employed to bring the action, with the understanding that we associate Judge Pittman, and Col. Bleckley, Mr. Dougherty or Mr. Hill with us. We did afterwards associate Judge Pittman and Col. Bleckley, and the action was commenced.

"I predicated my opinion as to the rights of the heirs, upon the fact that the property had been conveyed by their father for a specific and particular use, and for no other use, and when the State and the Macon and Western Railroad Company found that they no longer needed the property for that use, and abandoned it, that it reverted to the donor; upon the principle that if I convey land to a religious congregation for the purpose of erecting a church upon it, and for no other purpose, and the congregation should abandon it for that purpose, and sell it to A. B. who locates a doggery upon it, this would be in violation of the contract under which the congregation held the property, and it would revert to me as the donor. Or, take the very case itself, suppose after Mitchell had made the conveyance to the State of Georgia, giving the right of way through his lot, and five acres at the end of it for a location for the necessary buildings, &c., the engineer of the road had changed its location entirely and had run it to another *terminus*, not touching Mitchell's lot, and had never used it for railroad purposes. Would it be contended that the State would have a good title to the property? Surely not. Then suppose after its location upon Mitchell's land, it had been kept there for five years and for some good reason the Road's location had been changed and thrown entirely off the lot, why would it not, in law, equity and justice have reverted to Mitchell, on the ground of its entire abandonment for the purposes of the grant? If so, and the State used all she needed of it for railroad purposes and swapped a portion that she did not need for the proper location of her necessary buildings elsewhere, and abandoned another portion that she did not need for the purpose of the grant and turned it over to the city for a park, why, upon the same principle would it not revert to the donor or his heirs? I might give very numerous cases from the books sustaining this doctrine which is founded not only in sound law, but in the broad principle of natural equity; but I will not enlarge upon this point.

"Thus the matter stood, pending the litigation, when I went upon the Supreme Bench, and I turned over the case, and subsequently the obligation for the fees, so far as I was concerned, to Judge Lochrane, who was then practicing law, and under it, he represented me. And while I was upon the Bench, the heirs of Mitchell becoming impatient with the delay of a long, tedious litigation, and being broken up by the war, and as I am informed, very poor, after having conferred together, concluded to apply to the Legislature to order the re-conveyance of the Park property, the portion which the State did not need for railroad purposes, to them, as an act of justice; and a memorial was brought before the General Assembly asking a re-conveyance. This was met by the determined opposition of Gov. Bullock and Col. Hulbert, the then superintendent of the road, who went so far as to break the park fence and run a short track out into the park and locate a few cars to stand there to re-possess the property for railroad purposes, though all could see at once, that this was simply intended to make the appearance of railroad use, when it was not in fact needed for any such purpose. The case was brought before





the General Assembly and referred to a special committee of five from the Senate and nine from the House, composed of a majority of Democrats from each house, with a Democratic Chairman from each.

"The superintendent of the road, who actively opposed the re-conveyance to the heirs, appeared before the committee as the Journals show, and submitted evidence against the proposed re-conveyance. Having considered the question, the committee, through their Democratic Chairman in each House, submitted a unanimous report in the following language:

"The committee to whom was recommitted the claim, of the heirs of Samuel Mitchell, after having had the same under consideration, with the facts for and against the claim, unanimously recommended the passage of the bill now before the Senate, reconveying the property claimed.' The bill came up on its passage in the Senate and was defeated by two majority. Next morning a motion was made to reconsider it and lost by one majority. On the final vote it stood for and against the heirs, as follows: Democrats, for, 10; Republicans, for, 8; Democrats, against, 7; Republicans, against, 12. So that a committee composed of a majority of Democrats, with a Democrat as Chairman from each House, unanimously recommended the reconveyance of the park property to the Mitchell heirs without a dollar of compensation, and they were sustained in the Senate by a majority of Democrats voting for it, while the majority of Republicans voted against it.

"After this action, the heirs of Mitchell through their counsel, proposed a compromise to the City Council for the portion of land held and claimed by them under the conveyance from the Macon and Western railroad, for which suit had been brought. The matter was very thoroughly canvassed, and the compromise was finally agreed upon, by which the heirs conveyed to the city the portion of land lying between Pryor street and Whitehall, which was included in the grant from Mitchell to the Macon and Western road, and one hundred feet along the side of Pryor street, fronting on Alabama street, of the property originally conveyed by Mitchell to the State, and by the State conveyed to the Macon and Western road, and by that road to the city. And the city agreed to convey to the Mitchell heirs the balance of the property which had been originally conveyed to the State, and by her conveyed as aforesaid, from the line of said one hundred feet down to Lloyd street, being the property between the present passenger shed and Alabama street, extending to Lloyd street.

"In the meantime, prior to the compromise between the heirs and the city, the Superintendent of the Western and Atlantic railroad, with the assent of the Governor and the other railroad companies interested, had located the new passenger shed, and had gone forward with the construction of it until there had been probably more than \$100,000 expended. This new passenger shed was not placed upon the original location of the shed which existed prior to the war, but for the convenience of the roads, in running the tracks into it, it was so located that about one-fourth of it was upon the land originally conveyed by Mitchell to the State, and afterwards conveyed by the State to the Macon and Western road, and subsequently conveyed by the Macon and Western road to the city, and which the city had agreed to convey to the Mitchell heirs, but to which she did not make a deed until after the compromise with the State, though a contract of compromise had been agreed on between the heirs and the city.

"Pending these transactions the counsel for the Mitchell heirs mentioned to me that they had determined to propose a compromise to the State in reference to the park property. I inquired into the then *status* of that matter, and was informed that some



time in the previous spring Mr. Kimball had concluded to purchase all the conflicting titles to the property, and had made a contract with the heirs to purchase their right, and had taken a deed from them and paid them some money; intending also to purchase the State's right, whatever it might be, and the part to which counsel might be entitled under their contract with the Mitchell heirs. But finding difficulties in extinguishing all the outstanding titles, he soon after re-conveyed it to the heirs and subsequently, by a contract between him and them, became their agent to take charge of the matter, and effect, if possible, a compromise with the State, which he was then attempting to accomplish. And he desired the aid of their counsel in its consummation. I asked what it was proposed the heirs should pay the State for her claim to the land, and was informed that they proposed to pay the Western and Atlantic railroad \$35,000 toward the construction of the new depot. My opinion was, at the time, that this was more than the heirs ought to pay. I regarded their's as the better title, and said if it were my case I would never consent to pay \$35,000 for a compromise with the State. But it was insisted that the heirs were anxious to realize as much as possible, and that they did not wish to wait for an almost interminable litigation, and that they preferred that course. I made no further objection and the matter was brought before the Legislature, I think, by a memorial prepared by their counsel; but Mr. Kimball, who was their agent under the contract with them, had the active management of the matter. After the case was submitted, I felt an interest in their success, because I believed their claim a just one, and while I took no very active part in the matter, when approached on the subject, I always said I believed their proposition was a liberal one, and that the State ought not to hesitate to accept it.

"I felt fully justified in saying this much, for the reason that I was the original counsel consulted in the case, and they seemed to have relied much upon my judgment, and though I was upon the bench, under the laws of the State, I could in no event preside in the case, and therefore felt at perfect liberty, so far as the case was concerned, to confer with the heirs or their counsel in reference to their case, and to give them any advice which, in my judgment, would promote their interest. But I know of no unfair or illegal means used by any one to carry the bill through the Legislature.

"A proposition was submitted by Gen. Austell and others to give \$100,000 for a quit-claim title to the property. It was my opinion at the time, and the opinion of counsel for the Mitchells, that this proposition was not intended in good faith, but it was only thrown in to embarrass the settlement between the heirs and the State—as Austell owned property fronting the park and wished it kept open. It was submitted in such a shape that I was satisfied the parties could not be compelled to carry it out if the compromise had failed between the State and the heirs.

"But I was equally well satisfied, if it was made in good faith, that, in a pecuniary point of view, it was the interest of the State to accept the proposition of the heirs and reject that of Austell and his associates, for the following reasons: First, there could be no question about it that the land upon which one-fourth of the passenger shed, a very extensive structure, as already stated, which cost about \$150,000 at the time of its completion, stood upon the land which the State had conveyed away to the Macon and Western railroad, and which, in the compromise between the city and heirs, was then controlled by the heirs, and if the compromise had not been made with the State there could have been no question as to that part of it, that the State could have been ejected from it, as she had previously sold it for other land for the location of her depot—which



would have compelled the removal of the entire car shed. This would have been at a very heavy loss and expense to the State.

"In addition to this, I think there is no room for doubt, even if I am wrong as to the right of the Mitchell heirs to recover back the park property from the State, on account of her having abandoned it for railroad purposes, that they did have the right, holding that provision of the deed to be a covenant and not a condition, to restrain the State or her vendee by an action of covenant, or other proper proceeding, from using it for any other purpose than for the original purposes of the grant, to-wit: railroad purposes. And if the State could, in no case, use it for any other purpose, Austell and his companions, as grantees of the State, standing in her shoes, would be bound by the like covenant, and they too could be restrained from making any other use of it.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia, in the case of Thornton vs. Trammell, 39 Ga., 202, where a question arose upon a grant made to the Western and Atlantic railroad, in the city of Dalton, for the location of a depot—though the language of the deed was different from that made by Mitchell—held, that it did not contain a condition, and that the grantor could not recover it back; but the Supreme Court, Warner, J. delivering the opinion, recognizes fully the right of the grantor to enforce the covenant contained in the deed. Numerous authorities might be quoted to sustain this doctrine, that where a conveyance is made for a specific purpose, and the language of the deed is not such as to make a condition subsequent, the party conveying may, by action of covenant, restrain the grantee from violating the contract and appropriating it to other uses.

"What then would have been the result if the proposition of Austell & Company had been accepted? Suppose we admit for the argument that the heirs had no right to recover the property back. It was very clear that they had the right to restrain the use of it for any other purpose than railroad purposes; and it was so situated, that it could not be of any use for railroad purposes. The result must therefore have been that the property would have remained unimproved, and the State, the County, and the city must have lost the taxes which they will perpetually receive from it when it is built up. As the result of the compromise, already, the city has sold off a small portion of the property conveyed to her by the heirs, to John H. James, who has expended in the purchase and the erection of a building upon it, about \$75,000. And upon the park property there has been expended, in buildings, largely over a hundred thousand dollars. There are, therefore, over \$200,000 of improvements already placed upon the property, as the result of the compromise, upon which the taxes are annually paid to the city, county and State; and when all the balance of the property is built up, including the portion to which the city's title was quieted, and the portion to which the title of the heirs is quieted, there will probably be a million of dollars' worth of improvements to be taxed annually. In a few years this will pay the difference between the \$35,000 proposed by the heirs, and the \$100,000 proposed by Austell & Co. And after the difference is made up, the property will remain perpetually subject to taxation, and will in the end pay to the State many times the difference. Therefore, in a pecuniary point of view alone, the proposition made by the heirs of Mitchell was much the better one for the State, and was so regarded by intelligent members of the General Assembly.

"But in addition to this, the heirs agreed to convey to the State all the portion of the property necessary for a passenger shed, including the part formerly sold by the State to the Macon and Western Railroad, and to which she had not a shadow of title,





thereby quieting the title to the depot or passenger shed, including the part of it which no one can contend she had a right prior to the compromise. She has, therefore, in addition to her large income from increased taxes, saved the expense of a lawsuit and the necessity of removing the depot off the land owned by the heirs, or of delivering it up to them; and the whole matter is amicably adjusted.

"But suppose the quieting of the title to the depot building, and the taxes on the improvements made and to be made upon the property had not even equaled the \$65,000 difference between the two propositions, should not an enlightened and liberal Legislature have justly concluded, as the Democrats did at the former session of the same Legislature, that, as the father of these heirs has given the State all she needed for railroad purposes, including the right of way through his land, and the location for a passenger shed, and the property which she had swapped for the present site of her freight buildings, and the State had no sort of use for the balance of it for the purpose intended by the donor, and his heirs were left poor, that it was magnanimous and proper to return the balance, not needed, to them, as an act of justice and propriety, without regard to the pecuniary bid that venal speculators might have thought proper to interpose in the way of such an act of justice and magnanimity. This was the view, as already stated, which the majority of the Democrats had taken at the previous session. And if they then thought it just to return it without compensation, surely it is no evidence of bad faith in them and their associates, at a subsequent session, to agree to re-convey it for the sum of \$35,000. They might well have made that discrimination in favor of the heirs of him who had donated to the State property that is now worth a very large sum, and which is in daily use by the Western and Atlantic Railroad, when all must admit the portion returned had been abandoned, so far as the purposes of the grant are concerned, by the donee.

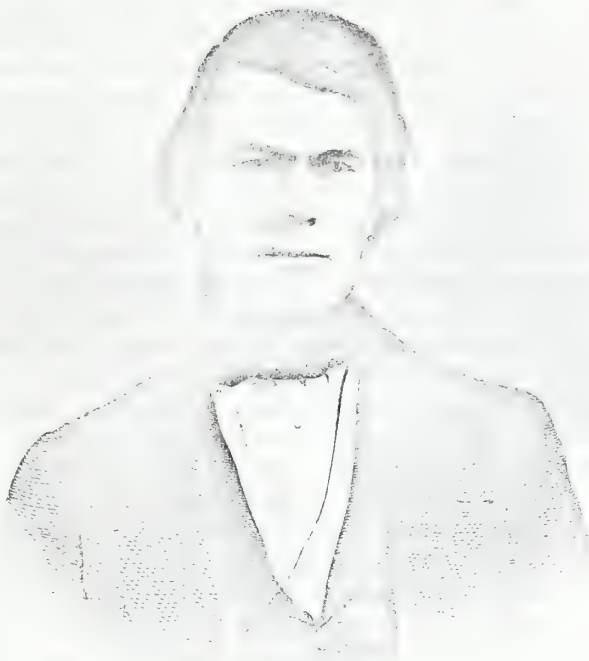
"The above statement gives the substantial facts, so far as they interest the public, in the case of the compromise between the State and the Mitchell heirs, and will, I trust, satisfy all unprejudiced minds, that, so far as I or the other counsel are concerned, we have done them no injustice, but have conferred upon them a substantial and valuable benefit. So far as the State is concerned, she has received, as a donation from Mitchell, all the land she needed for the original purposes of the grant, and, in addition to that, has received the further donation of \$35,000, in cash, towards the construction of the passenger depot, while she has surrendered only the portion of the property for which she had no earthly use, for the purposes contemplated, either by her or Mitchell, at the time of the conveyance. It is clear, therefore, that the injustice and wrong which have been charged in this transaction, exist only in the diseased imagination of persons controlled by passion, prejudice and vindictiveness towards the parties at interest.

"JOSEPH E. BROWN."

It is not inappropriate to say, that in nothing has there been a more striking change in popular sentiment than in the general condemnation of dueling that now prevails. There has grown up steadily a strong public opinion against this practice, and a man of character and family can refuse to accept the arbitrament of the Code without loss of standing, as was the case years ago.

Many changes took place in the State government. Col. H. P. Farrow resigned as Attorney General. Col. N. J. Hammond, Supreme





Portrait of Hiram Warner from a Daguerreotype.

Hiram Warner



Court reporter, was appointed Attorney General. Captain Henry Jackson resigned from the Legislature and became Reporter of the Supreme Court, a position which he continues to fill with marked industry and ability. Both Gen. Hood, in his "Advance and Retreat," and Jefferson Davis on page 340 of vol. 2, of his "Rise and Fall of the Confederacy," relate a unique incident of Henry Jackson at the battle of Sharpsburg, not giving his name, which we supply. Gen. Lawton was commanding Ewell's Division, September 17, 1862, and had relieved Hood's Division in Stonewall Jackson's line. The Federals made a desperate endeavor to break through; corps after corps were hurled against the heroic division. Gen. Lawton sent his only remaining staff officer, Lieutenant Henry Jackson, then a youth of seventeen, to Gen. Hood for assistance. It was a curious and typical demonstration of the polite chivalry of our Southern boys, that in this grim strife Lt. Jackson dashed up to Gen. Hood, saying, "Gen. Lawton *sends his compliments* with the request that you come at once to his support." Lt. Jackson conducted Hood's division to its place, Gen. Lawton and his horse were shot down, and the gallant and ceremonious aid had his General borne from the field, though several men were struck in so doing. Chief Justice Lochrane resigned from the Supreme Bench, and Gov. Smith appointed Associate Justice Hiram Warner as Chief Justice, January 19, 1872, and filled the vacancy made by the promotion of Judge Warner, by the appointment of Judge W. W. Montgomery, February 8, 1872. Gov. Smith appointed Professor J. G. Orr, State School Commissioner. This was a most admirable selection. A gentleman of erudition, energy, sleepless zeal, crystal purity and integrity and fine organizing capacity, Mr. Orr has in the nine years of his continuing incumbency seen the Public School system flourish and grow under his able direction, until its former unpopularity has been wholly changed and its sterling benefits are everywhere admitted.

Gov. Smith offered the place of Attorney General to Col. P. W. Alexander, but that gentleman declined it, and became, as a Secretary of the Executive Department, Chief of his civil staff, a place he filled with tact and ability. Gov. Smith selected as the additional Secretary of the Executive Department, Major James W. Warren, who was also continued in the same responsible position by Gov. Colquitt, and has served continuously for ten years. Major Warren was editor of the *Columbus Times*. One of the most vigorous and polished writers in the State, industrious, accurate, reliable, possessing a charming geniality of nature, and a quiet rich humor, Major Warren has discharged the delicate and responsible duties of his position with grace and ability.





The legislature elected Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, United States Senator. Mr. Norwood presented his credentials to the Senate on the 4th day of December, 1871, and on the 19th day of December he was admitted to his seat, and the final blow given to the Senatorial hopes of Foster Blodgett.

The legislature had many vital questions before it, but the most important was the bond matter. Senator Thomas J. Simmons and Representative John I. Hall, both introduced bond bills, and finally a measure was passed that required the registration of all bonds to sift out the bad from the good, under a temporary suspension of interest. A bond committee was appointed, consisting of Thomas J. Simmons, John I. Hall and Gamett McMillan, to conduct this bond investigation. The committee gave public notice, December 12, 1871, and began its sittings in Atlanta, March 1, 1872, holding session until May 1, 1872. The committee visited New York and held an extended session there. Voluminous depositions were taken in Europe. An attempt was made to get Gov. Bullock before the committee. The papers contained a paragraph narrating an alleged joke of his, that he had received two invitations to meet the Bond Committee and Col. Cumming with his requisition, that he could not visit both, and rather than offend either by accepting the other's invitation, he would do the kind thing and see neither.

Col. C. C. Kibbee gave valuable assistance in the investigations of our bond troubles. A gentleman of public spirit, a lawyer of ability and discrimination, and a legislator of uncommon qualifications, careful, searching and devoted to the public interest, Col. Kibbee made an enviable reputation in the General Assembly. Col. Thomas L. Snead was of great aid to our bond committees, and opened up a vein of information that would have probably been inaccessible but for him. Every obstacle was thrown in the way of the committee in New York. It was afterwards discovered that they were tracked day and night by skilled detectives employed by the bond-holders to watch and trap them. Attempts were made to drive them into complaisance. And it was a right creditable fact that this body of gentlemen, unaccustomed to the seductions and tricks of the metropolis, should have carried through their difficult mission so successfully and in such skillful avoidance of the perils set for them.

The committee investigated fully and made an unusually able report. The following table covers their statement of the bonded liability of Georgia, showing the increase under the Bullock rule to have been over TWELVE MILLIONS of dollars.





*T. M. Norwood*

1871

1871



*Consolidated Statement of the Public Debt of Georgia, (including endorsed bonds of this State,) on the first day of November, 1871, showing date of issue and maturity of bonds.*

When Issued.	When Due.	Amount.
1841 and 1866 . . . . .	1871 . . . . .	\$ 154,500
1842 and 1852 . . . . .	1872 . . . . .	730,000
1842 and 1843 . . . . .	1873 . . . . .	137,000
1844 and 1848 . . . . .	1874 . . . . .	251,500
1858 . . . . .	1878 . . . . .	100,000
1859 . . . . .	1879 . . . . .	200,000
1860 . . . . .	1880 . . . . .	200,000
1861 . . . . .	1881 . . . . .	100,000
1866 . . . . .	1886 . . . . .	3,764,000
1867 . . . . .	1887 . . . . .	165,000
1868 . . . . .	1888 . . . . .	268,000
1870 . . . . .	1890 and 1894 . . . . .	6,380,000
Grand Total of State Bonds . . . . .		\$12,450,000
INDORSED BONDS, INDORSED SINCE JULY, 1868.		
To Brunswick & Albany Railroad . . . . .		\$3,300,000
To Bainbridge, Cuthbert & Columbus Railroad . . . . .		600,000
To Macon and Brunswick Railroad . . . . .		600,000
To Cherokee Railroad . . . . .		300,000
To Cartersville & Van Wert Railroad . . . . .		275,000
To South Georgia & Florida Railroad . . . . .		464,000
To Alabama & Chattanooga Railroad . . . . .		194,000
Grand Total Indorsed Bonds . . . . .		\$5,733,000
Grand Total State Bonds . . . . .		12,450,000
Grand Total State Bonds and Indorsed Bonds . . . . .		\$18,183,000

The committee reported in favor of declining to recognize the illegal bonds. The report elicited a full and able discussion. The truth is, that the Georgia bond issue became a national question. The holders of the illegal bonds made every effort to stem and prevent the condemnation of their securities. The Northern press teemed with articles. The incorrect brand of "repudiation" was applied to the proposed action and the State threatened with utter destruction of her credit. The distinction between the "repudiation" of an honest debt and the refusal to recognize an illegal claim, was purposely confused. Perhaps the strongest speech made in favor of throwing over the fraudulent securities was by the Hon. A. O. Bacon. His portrayal of the Bullock Legislature was a very graphic picture, and his argument against the bad bonds was masterly and conclusive.

The Legislature declared the following bonds to be void:

Gold Bonds in Clews' hands, . . . . .	\$102,000
Gold Bonds, second issue to B. & A. R. R., . . . . .	1,880,000
Currency Bonds, . . . . .	1,500,000





Endorsement B. & A. R. R., . . . . .	\$3,300,000
Endorsement Bainbridge C. & C. R. R., . . . . .	600,000
Endorsement Cartersville & Van Wert R. R., . . . . .	275,000
Endorsement Cherokee R. R., . . . . .	300,000
	<hr/>
	\$7,957,000

The bond question was still agitated. The new Legislature of 1873 tackled the subject again. Of this body Hon L. N. Trammell was elected President of the Senate, and Hon. A. O. Bacon Speaker of the House. Among the new Senators were Joseph A. Blance, John W. Wofford, W. H. Payne, J. G. Cain, J. M. Arnow, W. A. Harris, S. J. Winn and H. W. Mattox. In the House were J. J. Turnbull, C. A. Nutting, J. H. Hunter, J. B. Jones, G. A. Mercer, Henry H. Carlton, W. D. Anderson, E. F. Hoge, Clark Howell, W. F. Calhoun, George F. Pierce, Patrick Walsh, J. C. Dell, Allen Fort, F. M. Longley, J. C. Clements, H. D. McDaniel, C. S. Du Bose.

Mr. Nutting was the author of the bill for the issue of the twelve hundred thousand of eight per cent. bonds. Mr. G. A. Mercer was an able young lawyer of Savannah, and a young man of an unusually clear mind and smooth elocution. Dr. Henry H. Carlton was the author of the bill establishing the Geological Bureau, one of the most valuable measures of the century. He was a strikingly handsome gentleman, and a forcible and ornate speaker. Hon. Patrick Walsh was, and still is, the editor and proprietor of the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, now the *Chronicle and Constitutionalist*. This was the first appearance in public life of Mr. Walsh, who will be a very large figure in Georgia politics, and to whom further reference will be made hereafter. Allen Fort took immediate stand as a young man of mark. F. M. Longley has been judge of the Superior Court, and is a solid young lawyer. J. C. Clement became Senator, and is now a member of Congress, with as much promise of usefulness as any young man in the State. H. D. McDaniel has been repeatedly sent to the Senate since, and has meritedly earned a reputation for substantial judgment and integrity.

Col. Thos. L. Sneed of New York came before this General Assembly with the following Bond compromise :

"The proposition which I have submitted to the Governor, on the part of certain holders of Georgia bonds, is simply this :

If the State will agree to pay to the holders of the State bonds which have been declared null and void, the sums which these holders have, actually, and in perfect good faith advanced upon or paid for these bonds (that is to say, about \$1,500,000 and interest), these parties will guarantee that such action of the State will completely re-establish



the credit of Georgia, and enable it to borrow, at seven per cent. per year, all the money which it may need.

They also desire that the Legislature shall declare the readiness of the State to carry out its promises as to the indorsement of the first mortgage bonds of the Brunswick and Albany Railroad Company and the Cherokee Valley Railroad Company, so far, and only so far, as the State is now constitutionally and lawfully bound by such promises; when these companies shall have complied with all of the requirements of the Constitution and laws of Georgia, and shall have also completed their respective roads.

If the State accepts this proposition, it will have to issue about \$1,600,000 seven per cent., currency bonds to the holders of the outstanding gold and currency bonds, who undertake to thereupon return to the Treasurer for cancellation—

\$1,880,000 gold bonds and interest, equivalent to . . . . .	\$2,450,000
Currency bonds . . . . .	1,500,000
Guaranteed bonds of the Bainbridge, Cuthbert and Columbus Railroad . . . . .	600,000
Guaranteed bonds of the Cherokee Valley Railroad . . . . .	300,000
Guaranteed bonds of the Cartersville and Van Wert Railroad . . . . .	275,000
Guaranteed bonds of the Brunswick and Albany Railroad . . . . .	3,300,000
	<hr/>
	\$8,425,000

Which includes *every bond* that has been declared null and void.

This proposition is made on the part of banks and capitalists, who own more of the valid bonds of Georgia than of its discredited—one of them alone (Mr. Russell Sage) holding over \$1,000,000 of good and acknowledged bonds, while he owns only \$50,000 of those which have been declared null and void.

In this matter I represent the foreign as well as the American bond-holders, and am authorized to express the acquiescence of the holders of any one of the discredited bonds in the proposed settlement.

THOMAS L. SNEAD, *Agent of the Bond-holders.*

ATLANTA, February 12, 1873."

This proposition was fully agitated and discussed. It created a deep interest and was presented to the public sense in every possible aspect. The editors of the *Atlanta Constitution*, E. Y. Clarke and I. W. Avery, addressed a circular letter to the leading men of the State asking their views on this matter. The responses made an interesting and vivid series of letters, presenting the important subject from every possible point of view. Ex-Gov. J. E. Brown, Major Campbell Wallace, Col. James Gardner, Col. John Screven, T. P. Branch, Col. George Hazlehurst, Senator T. M. Norwood, Judge David Irwin and Hon. John E. Ward advocated compromise in some shape. Gen. H. L. Benning, Gen. R. Toombs, John H. James, Wm. H. Hull, Ben H. Hill, Col. Wm. M. Wadley, and Herbert Fielder opposed any compromise. Politicians, lawyers, bankers, railroaders and business men were thus consulted and gave a remarkable variety of opinion. Lawyers Brown, Norwood, Irwin and Ward were in conflict with lawyers Toombs, Benning, Hill



and Fielder. Railroaders Wallace, Screven and Hazlehurst differed with railroader Wadley. Banker Branch opposed Banker James.

Mr. Hill took the novel and daring position that none of the Bullock bonds were valid because the Bullock government was the creature of Federal authority and had no right to bind the State, and the United States government should pay these Bullock claims. If, however, the Bullock rule was recognized as valid, then the claims of innocent holders of these bonds should be recognized. The State ought to have referred the holders of the Bullock securities to the Federal government, and helped them push the claim.

Mr. W. H. Hull thought the void bonds should not be paid. He had tried to buy new State sevens in New York, and could not get them for less than ninety cents. The bonds were null, and the State's credit was not affected. Col. Wadley endorsed Mr. Hull's views. Maj. C. Wallace urged the compromise. The bond trouble was affecting the State's credit and all private enterprises.

Gov. Brown's letter was an exhaustive review of the whole subject, covering its legal and business features. His idea was that the equities of these bonds should be recognized. Some of them were good, and where the State had received the benefit of the money invested in them, the right thing was to assume the obligation. And he urged that the courts should be opened to test the matter.

Gen. Benning declared the only question to be whether the State's credit was affected injuriously. Our credit was not hurt. As for borrowing money he did not wish the State to do it. Col. Gardner had first opposed the bond compromise, but upon investigation changed his mind. Bullock was de facto Governor, and the State's agent. The State must stand up to the acts of its agent so far as the innocent bondholders had an equitable consideration. The State had enjoyed increase of property through these enterprises, and should pay for it.

Gen. Toombs contended that all of these bonds lacked the vitality of popular consent, and were not in conformity with law or constitution. The public credit was undoubtedly injured some. The bonds would be a constant source of lobby agitation. His idea was to stand by the law, and make a new constitution killing the bonds and stopping lobbying for them. John H. James declared it untrue that the State's credit was hurt. Georgia bonds were selling well. He had tried to buy some at 87 1-2 cents and could not. There was no use for the State to give away this money and add to the taxation.

Senator T. M. Norwood thought that all money actually loaned the





State should be refunded. He did not think the State's credit injured, though the bond-holders were trying to hurt it to force a compromise. He advised delaying action. Herbert Fielder thought if the innocent holders of Confederate war bonds could stand it to lose, the holders of the Bullock fraudulent bonds deserved no more consideration. The bonds were clearly illegal and should not be paid. We had to bear the consequences of a bad government. T. P. Branch thought that every practical enterprise was injured by this bond complication. He favored making the compromise and paying it by taxation.

Judge David Irwin's letter attracted much attention. He urged that the matter should not be closed without an investigation, and the void bonds should be rejected, but all just equities should be recognized according to the facts. Hon. John E. Ward said there were two difficulties. The State should not act under any menace to her credit, and a general compromise like the one offered recognized the bad as well as the good claims. The just course was for the State to give parties a chance to show just what their equities are.

The press of the State were equally divided with perhaps a small majority against the compromise. The writer took the position that while the bond committee had investigated the legality of the bonds, it had not examined into the equities, and they should not be condemned without an investigation. There were Brunswick and Albany Railroad bonds that had been signed by Treasurer Angier, who opposed Gov. Bullock's irregularities, and these bonds had been sent to Europe and negotiated in Germany at a good value. There seemed to be a valid equity in such bonds as these. The legislature would do nothing with this compromise. In 1877 the constitutional convention carried out Gen. Toombs' idea, and incorporated in the constitution a prohibition against the fraudulent bonds and a clause against lobbying.

Judge O. A. Lochrane, in 1872, was the attorney for some two millions of the rejected bonds, and made a strong effort to get them paid. He is still hammering away upon it, and the last move is said to be an amendment to the Federal Constitution, to allow States to be sued for such obligations. The State has never suffered by her bond action, and her securities stand the peers of any in the civilized world.

This General Assembly re-districted the State under the new apportionment of representation in the Congress of the United States resulting from the census of 1870. Georgia gained one Representative in the Federal Congress, and the State, which had been divided into eight, was cut up into nine districts. An interesting incident occurred in con-



nection with the new apportionment which is a very valuable piece of underlying history, and not only demonstrates how grave public matters often have a curious personal inspiration, but also the strong esteem in which one of our most remarkable public men is held. Major E. D. Graham was chairman of the committee on apportionment. He says that Hon. Alex. H. Stephens called upon him, and in his peculiarly shrill voice requested that Taliaferro county in which he resided might be placed in the Eighth District, that he did not desire to direct the disposition of any other county, but that he wished his own county to remain in the Eighth. The concession was cheerfully granted, though it disordered the regularity of number, and brought the three northern districts in the sequence of 7—9—8. But for this, the district in which Mr. Stephens lives would have been numbered "9" in its order.

It was presumed that the distinguished Commoner, Mr. Stephens, was prompted by a natural desire to preserve the numerical designation of the district which he had made so famous. He was not then in Congress, but was elected in 1873 to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Ranse Wright. Taliaferro county, in 1843, was in the Seventh District, though there were then eight districts. In 1851-2 the eight districts were reorganized and Taliaferro county was placed in the Eighth District, and until the retirement of Mr. Stephens, just before the war, that district was represented by him. It was natural that he should wish to retain the familiar and honored number that he had so brilliantly illustrated. And it was a graceful compliment to his services and fame that his desire should have been respected.



## CHAPTER XLIV.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOV. JAMES M. SMITH.

The Republican Revolt in 1872.—Horace Greeley.—Alexander Stephens and the Constitution.—Delegates to Baltimore.—The Greeley Electoral Ticket.—Stephens' Straight Fight.—The Land Scrip Fund.—The Georgia Memorial Association.—The State Geologist.—Department of Agriculture.—Judge J. T. Henderson.—Great Western Canal.—John B. Gordon elected United States Senator.—A Lively Battle of the Ballots.—A. H. Stephens for Congress.—The Great Seal and ex-Gov. C. J. Jenkins.—A Beautiful Incident.—Gov. Smith's Administration.—His Misunderstandings.—Jack Jones and his Painful Episode.—The Double Bond Payment.—John W. Renfro.—His Fine Administration.—A Controversy.—Dr. W. H. White.—New Congressmen.—Hon. B. H. Hill.—Dr. Felton and his Independent Fight in the Seventh District.—Emory Speer.

DURING the year 1872 there was a lively time in Georgia over national politics. The Liberal Republicans revolted from the Radical party and nominated Horace Greeley for President. The Northern Democracy determined to support Greeley instead of running a Democratic candidate. This policy evoked a fierce controversy in the Democratic ranks, North and South, but especially South. The Stephens brothers and Gen. Toombs opposed it bitterly. Alexander H. Stephens was editing the *Atlanta Sun*, and wrote daily against it. Linton Stephens and Gen. Toombs made strong speeches against it. Mr. Stephens declared he would not support Greeley. A stiff discussion ensued between Mr. Stephens in the *Sun* and the *Atlanta Constitution*, under the writer, which continued for months. The *Constitution* urged support of the National Democracy. A convention was called June 26th, 1872, at Atlanta, and there were 424 delegates present from 135 counties. Albert R. Lamar was made President.

Among the delegates were Gen. Toombs, B. H. Hill, A. H. Colquitt, Thomas Hardeman, Warren Akin, J. Hartridge, Linton Stephens, H. L. Benning, A. R. Wright and others. It was one of the strongest conventions ever held in Georgia. The resolutions sent delegates to the Baltimore Convention untrammelled to do the best for the party. This was a clear defeat of the Stephens policy. The delegation consisted of H. L. Benning, Julian Hartridge, A. R. Wright, T. Hardeman, C. T. Goode, A. H. Colquitt, J. B. Gordon and I. W. Avery from the State





at large. As the names were read out Gen. Toombs was heard to exclaim audibly—"Packed—By God."

At Baltimore Greeley was nominated, and the Cincinnati platform adopted, the Georgia delegation voting against the platform. On the 24th of July, 1872, another State Democratic Convention was held. Thomas Hardeman was made President. The convention was an immense body, having 624 delegates from 136 counties, and including all of our public leaders, nearly. The resolutions endorsed the Baltimore Convention, recognizing the exigency of the times, which required the nomination of Greeley and Brown and pledging their support. The Liberal Republicans asked that Col. T. P. Saffold be put on the Electoral ticket, but this was not done.

The Electoral ticket nominated consisted of Wm. T. Wofford, H. L. Benning, Washington Poe, Julian Hartridge, H. G. Turner, R. N. Ely, W. J. Hudson, J. M. Pace, H. R. Casey, J. N. Dorsey, E. D. Graham. Gov. Smith was re-nominated for Governor. Judge Linton Stephens had died, and the Convention paid a noble tribute to this illustrious Georgian. The brief eulogy upon him by Geo. F. Pierce, Jr., was an exquisite bit of eloquence and taste.

Mr. Stephens fought Greeley's nomination sturdily. The clash between him and the *Constitution*, under the writer, continued to the close. He supported the Straight movement with Charles O'Connor as the Presidential candidate. A Straight Convention was called and had 57 delegates from 23 counties, which put out an O'Connor electoral ticket. The Republicans held a convention of 272 delegates from 77 counties, with John S. Bigby as chairman, which nominated Dawson A. Walker for Governor, and put out a Grant electoral ticket, composed of A. T. Akerman, B. Conley, A. W. Stone, J. Johnson, W. B. Jones, W. W. Merrell, J. R. Griffin, J. F. Shine, C. D. Forsyth, G. S. Fisher and C. A. Ellington.

The election resulted as follows: Greeley 75,896; Grant 62,485; O'Connor, 3,999; total vote, 142,370. Greeley's majority over Grant, 13,411; over O'Connor, 71,895. Gov. Smith was re-elected the Executive over Walker by 58,444 majority. Gov. Brown supported Gov. Smith and voted for Greeley. The following Congressmen were elected: Morgan Rawls, R. H. Whitely, Phil. Cook, H. R. Harris, J. C. Freeman, James H. Blount, P. M. B. Young, Ambrose R. Wright and H. P. Bell. Greeley was defeated for President, though he carried Georgia. He died before the day for casting the vote. There was much speculation as to how the Georgia Electoral college would vote. The electors curiously enough split up as follows:



Gen. Benning, Washington Poe and Col. Hudson voted for Greeley for President.

Gen. Wofford, Col. Hartridge, Mr. Ely, Col. Pace, Col. Dorsey and Major Graham voted for B. Gratz Brown for President.

Col. Turner and Dr. Casey voted for ex-Gov. C. J. Jenkins for President.

Gen. Benning, Mr. Poe, Col. Hudson, Dr. Casey and Col. Turner voted for Gratz Brown for Vice-President.

Col. Hartridge, Col. Pace, Col. Dorsey, Mr. Ely and Major Graham voted for Gen. Colquitt for Vice-President.

Gen. Wofford voted for Gen. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

The new Democratic Executive Committee, appointed by Col. Hardeman, was John L. Harris, Warren Akin, Nelson Tift, J. H. Christie, J. C. Nicholls, J. H. Hunter, H. Fielder, T. M. Furlow, E. H. Worrell, J. C. Wooten, J. S. Boynton, T. G. Lawson, Augustus Reese, J. B. Jones, T. S. Morris, J. B. Estes, I. W. Avery and L. N. Trammell. Col. Hardeman was elected Chairman, and I. W. Avery, Secretary.

Among matters of general interest was the Land scrip fund. By act of 1862, Congress gave each State 30,000 acres of land for every Senator and Representative. Georgia's part was 270,000 acres. The fund was to be used in endowing an agricultural college in five years. By act of 1872 further time was given. The Legislature of Georgia, in 1866, accepted the donation, and authorized the Governor to apply for, receive, and sell these lands. Gov. Conley, in his term, obtained and sold them for ninety cents per acre to Gleason F. Lewis, of the West, for \$50,000 cash, and the balance in eighteen months, making \$243,000 realized. Some of the States realized four and five dollars an acre. Gov. Smith had to organize the college by the 2d of July, 1872, or the land scrip would have been forfeited. Many of the cities applied for the fund. He finally gave it to the State University at Athens, instituting "The Georgia State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts." The interest alone can be used. The principal was invested in Georgia State bonds. The first \$50,000 Gov. Smith used in buying Georgia bonds at ninety cents, thus adding \$5,000 to the fund.

The Georgia Memorial Association, under charge of Mrs. Mary A. Williams and Miss Mary J. Green, had most faithfully used the \$4,000 given to remove the Confederate dead. A cemetery was established at Marietta, and 2,393 bodies removed, principally from the battle



grounds of Chickamauga and New Hope Church. There are also local Confederate Cemeteries at Resaca, Atlanta and Griffin.

During Gov. Smith's administration two departments of incalculable State benefit were established. The office of State Geologist was created by Act approved February 27, 1874, and Gov. Smith appointed Dr. George Little to the place August 10, 1874. The Department of Agriculture was created by Act approved February 20, 1874, the act passing the House by the vote of Speaker Bacon, and on the 26th of August, 1874, Gov. Smith appointed Dr. Thomas P. Janes State Commissioner of Agriculture. The State Geologist held office until removed by the Governor or the office was abolished, received \$2,000 salary, and was allowed two assistants at \$1,200 each. The sum of \$10,000 yearly was appropriated, for five years. The Commissioner of Agriculture held office for four years, received \$2,000 salary and was allowed a clerk at \$1,200. The sum of \$10,000 was appropriated for the annual expenses of the Department.

Dr. Little was an accomplished Geologist, and his work of survey proceeded vigorously. He made a large collection of minerals and woods. He had up to 1879, when the appropriation ceased, completed a survey and maps of nearly half of the State. He had developed the mineral resources of the State, inducing the investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars of foreign capital. The legislature of 1879 failed to make a further appropriation. The office was not abolished, Dr. Little is still State Geologist, but there being no money appropriated the geological survey has ceased. The wagons and surveying tools have been sold, and the magnificent collection of geological specimens is in charge of the Commissioner of Agriculture.

The Department of Agriculture was successfully established by Dr. Janes. It proved to be a great practical benefit. Its distribution of seeds, its introduction of new ideas, its valuable reports and publications, and its inspection of fertilizers preserving farmers from frauds in commercial manures, have been of large utility to the farming vocation, the basis of all of our prosperity. Dr. Janes was a zealous worker, and he accomplished much good. In 1878 he was re-appointed by Gov. Colquitt. He resigned his place in September, 1879, and on the 24th day of September, 1879, Hon. John T. Henderson was appointed by Gov. Colquitt as the Commissioner.

Mr. Henderson's administration of the office has been most brilliant. Taking the position when there was for some reason a good deal of public opposition to the Department, he has popularized it in the general





esteem. He has exhibited nerve, tact, discrimination and capacity. He had a battle with the fertilizer manufacturers that tested his pluck and decision conclusively. He fought their analyses, and under acrimonious demonstration from them, persisted in his reforms until he had revolutionized and graded up the standard of artificial manures. He was instrumental in getting up a National Convention on this subject. His enterprise has been sleepless, and his labors judicious and admirably directed. The Department is on a solid basis, and its usefulness yearly increasing. The receipts from the inspection of fertilizers last year, were \$76,232.03, and the expenses of the department \$12,171.81, leaving a handsome balance of \$64,060.23 that went into the State Treasury. One of the new projects of Commissioner Henderson is the establishment of an experimental farm. It will be a progressive movement that would benefit the State. And under the present able commissioner it would be a success.

Gov. Smith was instrumental in May, 1873, in calling a convention of Governors and delegates in the interest of the Georgia and Great Western Canal. Three hundred members were present, including Gov. John C. Brown of Tennessee, President of the Convention, Gov. Silas Woodson of Missouri, and Gov. T. A. Hendricks of Indiana, from the Eighth District.

Two notable events in the year 1873 were the election of Gen. John B. Gordon United States Senator from Georgia by the General Assembly, and the election of Hon. Alexander H. Stephens as the Representative in Congress from the Eighth District.

Gordon's victory was a signally striking one. He had for competitors, Hon. A. H. Stephens, Hon. B. H. Hill, Hon. Herbert Fielder and Hon. A. T. Akerman. The friends of these gentlemen threw themselves vigorously into the canvass. Gen. Gordon and Mr. Hill both made speeches. Mr. Stephens was in Atlanta, and his quiet, effective influence was seen in the ardent rallying of his admirers in his favor.

The triumph of Gen. Gordon was one of which any man could be proud. He had an unparalleled array of competitors, the most popular, gifted and veteran public leaders in Georgia—men around whom clustered peculiar considerations of public support. Mr. Stephens in particular had been a public idol, maintaining in a long career an unbroken series of political victories. He had been elected Senator after the war and was not admitted. It seemed a proper thing to return him again. He was handicapped, however, by his decided disagreement in the presidential campaign with the bulk of the party.

On the first joint ballot Gordon received 84 votes, Stephens 71, Hill



35, Akerman 14, Fielder 8. Mr. Stephens' vote was remarkable in view of his contest with his party, and could have been evoked by no other man under the same circumstances. He grew in strength in succeeding ballots. For a time it was thought he would be elected. Upon the disintegration of Hill's and Fielder's votes Gordon swept to victory. On the fourth ballot Gordon had ninety-five and Stephens seventy-five, necessary to elect one hundred and seven. On the fifth ballot Gordon ran to one hundred and one, and Stephens seventy-six, when men began to change, amid as wild an excitement as ever existed in a deliberative body. Three of Gordon's men broke to Stephens, Mattox, Brantley and Scott. Nine of Hill's men followed to Stephens. Two of Akerman's men added themselves to this growing tide. Two of Stephens' men, Peabody and McClellan, rushed to Gordon to give variety to the battle. Nine of Hill's men followed suit. Three of Akerman's joined this current. Baker of Bartow, with commendable impartiality, changed from Stephens to Gordon, and then back to Stephens. Watt did the same. Dorsey, not to be outdone, plumped from Hill to Stephens and then from Stephens to Gordon. Lee of Appling shifted from Gordon to Stephens, and then back to Gordon. The confusion and excitement were simply indescribable. Everybody was at fever heat. The galleries were packed with spectators, with a large sprinkling of ladies. At one time it was said by some investigating arithmetician who traced out the changing phases of the ballot, that Mr. Stephens was elected by one majority. The transfer of ballots was so swift and mixed that men were in perplexity, but amid the torrent of confusing changes Gordon went up steadily until the ballot was announced, Gordon one hundred and twelve, and Stephens eighty-six, and in a hurricane of shouts, the atmosphere variegated with the tossing hats, Gordon was declared elected.

It was a large clutch of honor for the young Gordon to have won this high trust, and the whole State was pleased. He had in the war carved his way to fame with the sword, rising to continental reputation. He was a fine representative of the chivalry and patriotism of the South. Endowed with a clear mind, a strong honor, and a pulsing public spirit, backed by a rare physical vigor, Senator Gordon became a marked figure in the national councils, and gave an administration of his exalted trust, both useful and brilliant.

The next day after the election the *Atlanta Constitution* raised Mr. Stephens' name for Congress. Gen. Toombs announced that Mr. Stephens would "stand" for Congress in the Eighth District, and the





*J. B. Gordon*

GEN. JOHN B. GORDON, Ex-U. S. SENATOR.





numerous aspirants dropped out and down, and the "Commoner," as he was felicitously called, was returned to Congress, where he still continues to give the country his services. Forty years ago he had been elected to Congress. For sixteen consecutive years he had served, his stout heart and large brain, in a weak frame, battling manfully for the rights and interest of the whole country. Retiring voluntarily from public life, he emerged from his privacy to become the second officer of the Confederate government. After thirteen years absence he returned to the seat in Congress he had vacated, the representative of the principles, thoughts and policies of the best school of American statesmanship. The event was a notable one, and created national comment and congratulation.

This Legislature elected as State House officers, Col. N. C. Barnett Secretary of State, Col. John Jones Treasurer, and W. L. Goldsmith as Comptroller General. Col. Barnett and Col. Jones had both been removed from office by Gen. Meade, and their election was the spontaneous tribute of the representatives of the people to these officers for their fidelity to the State's interest.

A very interesting incident of Gov. Smith's administration was connected with ex-Gov. Charles J. Jenkins. Hon. J. B. Cumming introduced a resolution, which passed and was approved August 22, 1872, authorizing the Governor to have made and present to Mr. Jenkins a fac-simile of the great seal of State that he had taken with him when removed from office, with this additional inscription: "Presented to Charles J. Jenkins by the State of Georgia," and this legend, "*In Arduis Fidelis*."

Gov. Smith had the gold copy made, and in July, 1873, he transmitted it to ex-Gov. Jenkins through the hands of Mr. Cumming, the author of the resolution, in a suitable letter. The formal presentation of this testimonial of a republic's gratitude, this State recognition of fidelity to her honor and prosperity, was certainly an event of beautiful significance. The letter of ex-Gov. Jenkins, in reply, was like everything else emanating from his brain, a document of grace and power. The exquisite elegance of diction, the rare propriety of sentiment, and the strong tenor of vigorous thought that mark this letter, make it a paper to be read with admiration and treasured in remembrance. This sentiment deserves preservation:

"My position is that there is now no cause for despondency; that the wrongs and oppressions we have endured resulted from administrative abuses, not from structural changes in the government. This distinction should be kept constantly in view. In a



complex government like our own, the political powers divided between the general and State governments, let it never be conceded that a power once usurped is thenceforth a power transferred; nor that a right once suppressed is for that cause a right extinguished; nor that a Constitution a thousand times violated becomes a Constitution abolished; nor finally that a government prostituted by two or three consecutive administrations to purposes of tyranny and corruption must thereafter be regarded as a government revolutionized."

Brave, noble words these were, that rang over the length and breadth of the State, giving truth and inspiration to every wearied champion of constitutional government.

Gov. Smith's administration was firm and able and made him very popular. He concluded his fragment of Bullock's time, and entered upon his regular term of four years amid the general and earnest favor of the people. His whole administration, nearly as an entirety, was a beneficial and capable one. There were, however, two matters that occurred that marred the harmony of his régime. There was an aggressive quality in his temper that developed itself, and that was productive of many personal misunderstandings, and created an unnecessary opposition. He was unfortunate enough to get up some very grave conflicts of statement with several distinguished gentlemen in the State upon the delicate subject of their appointment to office. Whatever may have been the merits of these controversies, they made hostility to Gov. Smith. Ex-Gov. H. V. Johnson was the most prominent of the persons with whom Gov. Smith had these by no means beneficial differences. Gov. Johnson considered that Gov. Smith had promised to put him on the supreme bench, and Gov. Smith denied it, and the issue drifted into quite an unpleasant correspondence. Such incidents made an opposition disproportioned to what might be supposed their legitimate effect.

At the expiration of Dr. Angier's term as Treasurer in 1872, as has been stated, Col. John Jones, Treasurer under Gov. Jenkins and who had been removed by Gen. Meade, was elected to this office. The election was unfortunate for himself and for Gov. Smith. He had earned an unusual reputation, and was endeared to the people by his striking experiences. "Honest Jack Jones" was his enviable designation. It was a cruel thing that such a character, so uncommon and priceless, should have been sacrificed, with every undeniable purpose to merit its continuance, and with the fact of integrity untouched. Charges of loose management became general, and the alleged payment of duplicate securities was formulated upon the public thought. The Legislature of 1873 put a committee at work to investigating the Treasurer's office. This committee reported a bad state of things existing in that office, and resolutions were passed censuring the Treasurer, instructing suit against that officer and his



sureties for money illegally paid by him, and authorizing the Governor to appoint a competent person to aid the Treasurer in doing all things necessary for the State's interest. Dr. James F. Bozeman was selected as the official to do this important duty. The choice was admirable. Dr. Bozeman proved himself a careful, capable, patient, honest financier, tracing out the difficult problem of our confused State finances to an unerring conclusion.

The whole episode was a painful one. It involved a Democratic official who had peculiarly strong claims upon the party. Yet the investigation was made with a resolute thoroughness that marked the difference between a Democratic and the Reconstruction administrations. A Democratic rule probed and punished its own derelictions. The Republican régime had shielded its offenders.

Gov. Smith decided upon examination that the Treasurer's bond was insufficient, and on the 15th day of November, 1875, he issued an Executive order requiring a new bond. This the Treasurer failed to give, and on the 26th of November, the Governor declared the office vacant by operation of law. From the 25th of November until the 4th of December, the Comptroller acted as Treasurer under the Executive appointment. On the 4th of December, 1875, Gov. Smith appointed and commissioned as State Treasurer, Hon. John W. Renfroe, who served the balance of Col. Jones' term, and in 1877 was elected and served for the full term of four years to 1881.

The administration of Col. Renfroe through its entirety was a signally able one. He had been for years the tax collector of the large county of Washington, and had made a marked reputation for efficiency, skill and promptness. His collections were thorough and his returns a model of book-keeping. He took the treasury chaotic, disordered and unsystematized. He made it methodical, clear and smoothly running. He had something more than good steady business ways. He possessed genuine and original financial ability, blending, in a singular degree, nerve, judgment and fertility of resource. He held the many reins of State money interest with a firm hand and an intelligence, equal to any emergency. He was economical and managing, saving the State in every possible manner.

It was a most fortunate selection. The State's credit steadily went up under his financial direction. He negotiated large amounts of bonds at less cost than any other Treasurer. And with all his strict discharge of his duties he was uniformly polite and accommodating, and won a universal regard by his courtesy and spirit to convenience people.





The irregularities in the Treasurer's office and the changes of administration startled and shocked the public mind. There has never been such a demonstration of popular sympathy as followed Col. Jones in this unfortunate calamity. The proof of an inefficient management was irrefutable. But the public clung to the idea of his integrity, with a touching tenacity. Great losses to the State were proven, but the general thought maintained the good intentions of old "Jack Jones."

Stunned, dazed, fluttering in his helplessness, and in dreamy doubt of a disaster that he scarcely comprehended, and which he fought with all the gallant consciousness of honesty, the old man reeled under the terrific loss of his cherished repute, and finally as the evidence accumulated overwhelmingly to show an incompetent and careless management, he bowed his head in mute anguish. The iron ordeal of an unpitied inquiry went on.

Civil suits were instituted. Months were spent by an auditor, Col. John M. Pace taking evidence. The trial ran far into Gov. Colquitt's administration, and finally, on the 23rd day of May, 1879, a judgment was obtained against Col. Jones and his sureties, John T. Grant and C. A. Nutting, for \$96,000. The counsel for the State were the Attorney General, Col. N. J. Hammond, and the following lawyers employed by Gov. Smith, Gen. Toombs, McCay & Trippe, Willis A. Hawkins and Wm. T. Newman. Col. Jones had for his leading counsel, Hon. B. H. Hill. Mr. John T. Grant offered \$35,000 cash in settlement of his liability which was accepted by Gov. Colquitt upon the advice of the State's entire counsel.

This most unpleasant affair was an injury to Gov. Smith's administration. Henry Clews & Co. had paid, during the administration of Gov. Bullock, the entire bonds falling due in 1870 and 1871. These bonds were reported paid by the bond committee in 1871, as also by Gov. Conley in his message, and in his first message to the legislature as Governor in July, 1872, Gov. Smith had mentioned the bonds due in 1872 as the first bonds needing attention. Of the redeemed bonds of 1870 and 1871 Col. Jones had paid a second time, \$149,250 with \$24,782.15 of interest. These bonds had never been canceled by Henry Clews, but were sold at public auction in New York on one day's notice, for \$18,625 to J. D. Hayes, the Misses Clews and Chittenden and Hubbard. Somebody presented them at the State Treasury and Col. Jones paid them. He had no clue to the person who got the money. After that payment Gov. Smith passed his warrant to Col. Jones for these bonds. And whether rightly or wrongfully the public held it a matter



for censure in the otherwise excellent financial administration of Gov. Smith.

Gov. Smith had pressed a controversy upon the writer in connection with the authorship of a newspaper letter, attacking him savagely, written by a Mr. Cowart. And in this controversy the writer entered fully into this double bond payment, and charged upon Gov. Smith a grave neglect of duty. The controversy which brought to light more clearly the facts of this bond mistake, demonstrated the tendency heretofore alluded to in Gov. Smith to provoke unnecessary antagonisms. It is due to Gov. Smith to say that the full extent of condemnation to which he should justly be subjected is simply such oversight of the fact of payment as would have prevented his signing a warrant for these bonds. The bonds had been paid. The money could not have been recalled. No human suspicion could attach any blame to Gov. Smith for the double payment. These are milder views of Gov. Smith's share of blame than the writer entertained at the time of the very tart correspondence in 1876, and are given in justice to both parties.

In 1876 an event occurred that attracted very much attention. Dr. W. H. White, who has since died, a gentleman from Iowa settling in Atlanta, was the successful originator and instrument of a large excursion of western citizens to the South, that went a great way to break down the ignorant bitterness existing between the sections, and which has proved so great a barrier to national reconciliation. Dr. White was a public-spirited citizen of energy and enterprise, who deserved the esteem he held among our people.

The death of Gen. Ambrose R. Wright and Thomas J. Speer, members of Congress, was followed by the election of Hon. A. H. Stephens and Col. Erasmus W. Beck to fill the vacancies. In November, 1874, the following gentlemen were elected to Congress, *viz.* Julian Hartridge, Wm. E. Smith, Philip Cook, H. R. Harris, Milton A. Candler, James H. Blount, Wm. H. Felton, Alex. H. Stephens and Garnett McMillan.

In the nominations of Col. Candler and Col. McMillan there had been prolonged, exciting and stubborn contests. McMillan beat Hon. B. H. Hill in the convention in a conflict that excited State interest. Col. McMillan soon died, and Mr. Hill was nominated and elected May 5, 1875, to fill the vacancy, and from that time has been in Congress. The most remarkable, and in some respects romantic, congressional contest, was the one in the 7th District, which resulted in the election of Dr. William H. Felton as the Representative, which revolutionized the politics of that District, which introduced a new and powerful factor in



the public matters of the state, and made the quiet old Seventh District the scene of political strife so turbid and active as to focalize the gaze and the speculation of the whole people.

Some several weeks before the Democrats held their nominating convention, Dr. Felton had taken the field as an Independent Democratic candidate, on the general ground of the trickery of the convention system, which, he argued, disappointed instead of enforcing the popular will. He was a tall, slender, gray-haired Methodist preacher, with a singularly effective eloquence and a very subtle power in reaching and controlling his hearers. The people of mountain sections seem to have a natural proclivity to that loose wearing of political trammels that makes party independentism easy. It is a curious geographical fact that, in the 7th and 9th Congressional Districts, both mountain countries, the Independents have been most active and successful.

Dr. Felton made a steady headway. His wife, a very comely lady, fearless, positive, managing, a born politician, a vigorous writer, and a tireless worker gave him a wonderful co-operation. Together they inaugurated a revolution that swept the District, made it the focal battle-field of the State, and planted independentism in State politics for years to come. The placid parson became the central figure of public matters.

The convention nominated Hon. L. N. Trammell as the Democratic candidate for Congress. Dr. Felton attacked the fairness of his nomination and his political record. Trammell met him squarely, hammering down his assaults. They met in debate several times, and Dr. Felton declined to discuss with him longer. The disaffection in the Democracy of the seventh so perceptible gave serious trouble to the party all over the State. There were elements of discord at work that seemed uncontrollable. With a deft tact and consummate ability the clever parson used the chance. It was immaterial who was the nominee, the opposition to nominations existed. Whether Dabney, Lester or Trammell, it was the same breeding repulsion to convention work. Trammell was an unexampled manager, full of resources, and a watchful, masterly, political leader.

Col. Trammell wrote to the Executive Committee putting himself in their hands for the party good. It was a generous abnegation. The committee proposed to Dr. Felton that both retire and let the party settle the contest in some way. Dr. Felton declined. The committee decided that Col. Trammell must continue the fight. There was then every chance for the nominee. Trammell could have made the victory.





But there was treachery in our own ranks. Realizing it, Col. Trammell determined that it should not be ascribed to him that the party was divided, and peremptorily withdrew. Col. Wm. H. Dabney was nominated. The battle became hotter still. The schism grew, the rancor intensified, the struggle deepened in bitterness. Outsiders who were invited to come in and take a hand were warned off. The District seethed like the witches' cauldron in Macbeth. It was a red-hot time, full of accelerating fury.

Col. Dabney was an irreproachable gentleman and a fine lawyer, able and earnest. But Dr. Felton went for him. Dabney lacked personal magnetism and political strategy, and was not a match for Felton. We have never had a man in Georgia politics that has been so dangerous an assailer of personal records as this plausible preacher. He struck deadly blows. He held religious service on Sunday, and spoke politics on week days, and played perilous work generally with personal antecedents. His hold on the people was something marvelous, and could not be shaken. He inspired a tenacity of attachment in his followers, amounting to fanaticism.

He defeated Col. Dabney by over 200 majority. He ran again in 1875, and Col. Dabney was pitted against him, and he got an increased majority running to 2,462. The Republican vote went solid for him. In 1878 George N. Lester was nominated, and made a lightning race, full of fire. But Felton came in again with a majority of 1,350. It looked like the parson was invincible, and Independentism supreme. The contagion had spread. In the 9th, in 1878, a handsome, glittering, young man, showy, eloquent, ambitious, Emory Speer, who in 1876 had been defeated, slipped in over Col. J. A. Billups, the nominee, by a small majority, which in 1880 he swelled to over 4,000 in a tug with H. P. Bell.

But Dr. Felton's victory over Col. Lester closed his extraordinary series of successes, and in 1880 a sturdy, clear-headed, even-tempered young man, who had been first in the House of Representatives and then in the Senate from Walker county, entered the race and left the gallant parson behind. This sensible individual, Judson C. Clement, took a new tack. He would have no stock in a personal contest. He made a quiet elevated canvass, dignified, devoid of personality, soothing the asperities of an angry division, and treating Dr. Felton and his followers with a uniform personal courtesy, and when the vote was counted, to the surprise of the State, and with somewhat of a shock to the parson, Clement was declared elected.



The defeat of Parson Felton has left his youthful and brilliant young colleague, Emory Speer, the leader of the Independents—a critical and perilous pre-eminence. He has shown, like the Parson, an able brain and a steady head, a thorough self-reliance and a shrewd mastery of the masses. It cannot be seen that Dr. Felton made any blunder to evoke defeat, but fell through in the reaction from a species of revolution and under the natural subsidence of men into customary and familiar political grooves. It remains to be tested whether the gifted young Speer can avoid the fate of his wise old colleague, and maintain outside of party lines that personal supremacy, which, while it utilized Democratic disaffection and a handy Republican balance of power, yet demonstrated an undeniable genius for leadership.





*James Jackson*



*Martin J. Crawford*



*Alex M. Speer*

SUPREME COURT OF GEORGIA.





## CHAPTER XLV.

### GOVERNOR ALFRED H. COLQUITT, AND HIS MAGNIFICENT MAJORITY.

The Popular Thought Points to Alfred H. Colquitt for Governor.—His Long Declension.—Gen. L. J. Gartrell.—H. V. Johnson.—John H. James.—Thomas Hardeman Retires.—Gen. Colquitt's Character.—The State Democratic Convention.—The Colquitt Caucus.—Weil and Wright.—An Amusing Episode.—Colquitt's Nomination and the Enthusiasm.—The Republicans put up Jonathan Norcross.—Colquitt's Easy Election and Vast Majority.—Tilden and Hendricks.—The Texas Banner Won.—The Congressional Delegation Re-elected Entire.—Ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown.—Gregg Wright's Witty Article on Brown.—Gov. Brown's Service in Florida.—Changes on the Supreme Bench.—James Jackson and Logan E. Bleckley.—Martin J. Crawford.—Alex. M. Spear.—The Legislature of 1877.—A. O. Bacon, Speaker.—R. E. Lester.—E. P. Howell.—Patrick Walsh.—Gov. Colquitt's Splendid Financial Message.—His Practical Economy.—The Bankrupt Railroads.—Gov. Colquitt's Able Disposition of Them.—B. H. Hill Elected United States Senator.—State House Officers.

DURING the years 1875 and 1876, the question of Gov. Smith's successor in the Executive office was actively agitated. Gov. Smith finally declined to be a candidate, and turned his aspirations to the United States Senate. The prominent name in the public mind was Alfred H. Colquitt. As early as 1857 the popular thought had pointed to him for Governor. After the war he had steadily declined political preferment, and constantly grew in public favor. Coming from a blood renowned in Georgia annals; the son of a father, the most versatile and brilliant public man the State has ever known, Walter T. Colquitt; the inheritor of eloquence and ability for the administration of public affairs; a gentleman of rare Christian character and life, adding the grace of a deep piety to the attractions of a very handsome face and person, and with manners singularly simple and hearty, and reflecting a temper uniformly genial, Gen. Colquitt enjoyed an exceptional popularity, and had such a hold upon the respect and affection of the masses as few men have ever enjoyed.

He refused repeated solicitations to allow his name used for Congress, as well as for Governor and the United States Senate. He was constantly chosen as elector and delegate to National Conventions. He had, in 1872, been elected on the same day President of the State Dem-



ocratic Convention and President of the State Agricultural Society. He had been unanimously re-elected, year by year, President of the State Agricultural Society. Under this focal enjoyment of public regard he was at length squarely entered into the lists for the gubernatorial succession.

Gen. Lucius J. Gartrell was mentioned and pressed by his friends for Governor, but when ex-Gov. H. V. Johnson's name was presented, he withdrew. Gov. Johnson was sprung as a gubernatorial candidate by Mr. Willingham of the *Press*, and warmly urged by Mr. Gregg Wright of the *Augusta Chronicle* and *Sentinel*. The late introduction of Gov. Johnson into the canvass was an injustice to that distinguished and popular statesman. His support was no criterion of the strength he had with the people. He neither endorsed nor declined the use of his name, but still left it before the public. The writer, a warm friend and admirer of Gov. Johnson, wrote him a letter, urging that so many of his friends were friends of Gen. Colquitt and had committed themselves to the latter, that he owed it to himself not to run.

Mr. John H. James, Banker of Atlanta, a gentleman of great native shrewdness and large means, accumulated by an uncommon financial sagacity and energy, had resolved, if possible, to cap his business success with the honorable distinction of Executive responsibility. Against Gov. Smith in 1872, he had made something of a commencement of his attempt at the Executive chair. He regularly entered the race against Gen. Colquitt, and devoted himself to the campaign with that cool, systematic energy and calculation that marked the man. Deficient in education, he yet had a large fund of good sense, good temper, and real practical capacity. He pursued his canvass astutely.

The strongest competitor that Gen. Colquitt had, however, was Hon. Thomas Hardeman, Jr. This gentleman was very popular. As Legislator, Congressman, Speaker of the House, Confederate officer, he had shown himself capable, eloquent, honorable, patriotic and public spirited. He had convictions and the courage to defend them. He was and is a fluent and attractive speaker. He was true in his friendships, and direct and candid in his politics. Possessing a genial nature, he inspired a general regard. Col. Hardeman has been one of the sincerest men in our public matters, meriting his repeated trusts, discharging his duties efficiently always, and enjoying public respect and regard.

Walter T. Colquitt, the father of Alfred H. Colquitt, was a most consummate master of politics, and he transmitted to his son a full share of this power. The writer does not think that in the State there has ever



been a wiser manager of a political campaign than Gen. Colquitt. Under his pleasant, unpretentious, genial exterior, he carries a keen judgment of men, an accurate perception of chances, a broad range of resources in management, a power of severe practicality, a thorough grasp of detail, and an unwavering decisiveness upon a deliberately selected line of policy. There were some other qualities in Gen. Colquitt that gave him strength. No man was ever more crystally truthful and direct, no man was ever truer to friendship, and no man was ever more strongly governed by duty and conscience.

There have been many misconceptions of Gen. Colquitt's qualities,—inconsistent with his striking political successes. No mistake as to his character has been more widely at fault than the idea that his enemies have used against him, that he possessed a pliant and yielding character. This has grown from that perennial sweetness of temper and genial courtesy of manner that belong to the man. In truth he is as positive and unwavering a public man as we have ever had in Georgia. Not an aggressive person and not given to seeking combat, but a most unchangeable and patient man upon a line of policy he has shown himself to be. Every political campaign he has been engaged in has demonstrated fixedness, persistence and resolution of an unusual quality.

Perhaps the strongest trait of Gen. Colquitt's nature is his contempt for affectation or pretense. With a hearty scorn for shams, caring nothing for show, yet with a genuine pride of principle and gentility, he has kept his poise, preserved his common sense, and maintained the solid purity of his character and intelligence in a manner that testifies conclusively to his native worth. No public man has ever been more untouched by the glitter of official distinction, or has borne high preference with more modesty. This simple wearing of ennobling trust has been accompanied by a strong practicality that he shows in all matters, and which is the essential basis of a very strong personality with an unlimited reserve power in it. The qualities of this distinguished Georgian will be further discussed. He was destined for unprecedented triumph and a remarkable experience.

The nominating convention was held on the second day of August, 1876, in Atlanta. The selection of county delegates to the body demonstrated the overwhelming drift for Colquitt. When enough counties had acted to show the popular preference, Col. Hardeman, with that patriotic sensibility that has always signalized his public course, withdrew his name in a most graceful letter, yielding a prompt acquiescence in the public will. At the Kimball House, the head-quarters of





the Colquitt, Johnson and James delegates were established. A caucus of Colquitt's friends was held in the large ball-room of the Kimball House. The Johnson men met in the breakfast-room, and Major J. B. Cumming stated that he had in his possession a letter from Gov. Johnson declining to have his name presented to the convention. The caucus resolved to support Colquitt.

In the Colquitt caucus the enthusiasm was overwhelming. The large room was packed. The proposal of three cheers for Colquitt brought out a ringing response which echoed throughout the immense building in thunderous notes. Mr. H. D. D. Twiggs announced the withdrawal of Gov. Johnson's name and that Johnson's friends would support Colquitt. The excitement that followed this announcement went to fever heat. Cheers were given for Gov. Johnson and his friends. Hon. Josiah Warren of Savannah was called, and made an electrical little talk. Among other things he used these notable words:

"As an original Hardeman man, and one who believes he is one of the purest and noblest sons of Georgia—and who withdrew in favor of one who is his peer in every respect [cheers]—Gen. Colquitt—[cheers], and as a friend of Gen. Colquitt, and as one who is in favor of the harmony of the party, I congratulate you and the whole people upon the evidence here to-night of the future harmony and unison of the Democratic party of the State of Georgia" [cheers].

Col. Hardeman made such a speech as he always makes, fitting and eloquent. The convention consisted of 550 delegates from 135 counties. Hon. Geo. F. Pierce, Jr., was made temporary Chairman, and Hon. Clifford Anderson permanent President of the body. Col. S. Weil of Fulton county withdrew the name of Mr. James, and moved the nomination of Gen. Colquitt. Mr. H. Gregg Wright of the Richmond delegation had been empowered to announce the withdrawal of Gov. Johnson and put in nomination Gen. Colquitt. It is a part of the under-current of the history of this convention that the movement of Mr. Weil in his German idiom was a surprise, and unexpectedly interrupted the programme of the Richmond delegation. It created a sort of ripple of amusement, but the ready and quick-witted Wright met the sudden emergency cleverly, and put in his most felicitous speech with a spirit that brought the house down, stating that Johnson's name would not be presented, and urging Gen. Colquitt's nomination by acclamation.

The nomination went through with a rush, and Gen. Colquitt was brought in, and made a stirring speech. Electors were chosen on the Tilden and Hendricks ticket. They were A. R. Lawton and J. W. Wofford from the State at large; and district electors, A. M. Rodgers,





Yours truly  
Alfred Holguett



R. E. Kennon, J. M. Dupree, W. O. Tuggle, F. D. Dismuke, F. Chambers, L. N. Trammell, D. M. Du Bose and J. N. Dorsey.

The Republicans in convention at Macon, Aug. 16, 1876, nominated Jonathan Norcross for Governor, and for electors, D. A. Walker, E. C. Wade, J. T. Collins, C. W. Arnold, B. F. Bell, R. D. Locke, J. A. Holtzelaw, Jeff. Long, Z. B. Hargrove, V. M. Barnes and M. R. Archer. The whole Democratic ticket for State officers, electors and congressmen was easily elected. Mr. Norcross was an odd, grizzly person, an intense, double-dyed Republican, unskilled in party management, regarded as possessing very cranky political theories, and an impracticable public man, but personally honest, a successful business man, one of the earliest settlers of Atlanta, though of northern birth, and enjoying the respect of all who knew his undoubted personal worth. He was the last man in the State to lead the party. Some idea of his party management may be gleaned from a maneuver of his in the last campaign, when with nine-tenths of his party organization colored, he deliberately inaugurated the policy of establishing a white man's Republican concern, and ignoring the colored brethren. This would have been simply to have wiped out at one stroke the Republican party in Georgia.

The Georgia elections of 1876 resulted in easy and overwhelming Democratic victories. The State election took place in October. Gov. Colquitt's majority over Mr. Norcross was unprecedented, running to 77,854, and the largest ever given in the State. The whole vote was 144,839, of which Gov. Colquitt received 111,297, Norcross 33,443, scattering 99. The popular Colquitt swept in to the Executive office on a flood tide of public favor. Amid universal acclaim and a flattering expectancy he took his seat. The Republican party was crushed as by the hand of a giant. Swollen to invincible proportions, the Democracy had no opposition whatever. Unified, with every wandering element gathered to the fold, compact and resistless, it led the Democratic hosts of the Union. Some Democratic Clubs in Dallas, Texas, challenged the States of the Union to roll up a heavier majority than the Lone Star commonwealth, the trophy to be a silken banner. Especial dares were given to Georgia and Kentucky.

The enormous majority given to Gov. Colquitt was duplicated for Tilden and Hendricks in November, and in due time there came from Dallas to Gov. Colquitt a magnificent banner, the badge of Georgia's Democratic superiority. Gen. Lawton was elected President of the Electoral college, which assembled in Atlanta on the 8th of December,





and cast the State's vote for Tilden and Hendricks. The most extraordinary result of the November election was the return to Congress of the entire Representatives elected in 1874, something that has never happened before or since. The members thus re-elected without an exception, were Julian Hartridge, Wm. E. Smith, Phil. Cook, Henry R. Harris, Milton A. Candler, Jas. H. Blount, Wm. H. Felton, Alex. H. Stephens and Benjamin H. Hill.

During the past years, Gov. Brown had, after a series of long and hard conflicts in the Legislatures and before the people, established irrefutably the integrity and validity of the State Road lease, and his company was firmly fixed in its occupancy of the road. But during these years, though out of politics, and devoting his extraordinary energies and sense to material enterprises, his powerful personality was, in the public imagination, a persuasive and irrepressible influence. No man has ever been accredited with so much mysterious and potential manipulation of political affairs. It was a strange tribute to both his past power and still existing domination.

That witty and sparkling young journalist, Gregg Wright, editor of the *Augusta Chronicle*, who died so young, and yet so marked in his calling, happily expressed the remarkable estimate the public placed upon Gov. Brown, and the repute that attached to him in political matters, in this sketch.

"Mr. William Dugas Trammell was not far wrong in the description which he gave of ex-Gov. Brown in his communistic romance, *Ca Ira*. Under the name of 'Mr. Malcomb,' he speaks of him as a man universally feared and admired, who was believed to be always engaged with the Governors, Legislatures, City Councils, railroad officials and great speculators, in certain mysteries. If he was on speaking terms with the Governor, there were those to swear that he was the real Executive and was running the government; if his carriage stopped in front of a printing office, the editor was bought up; if he whispered in the ear of a member of the General Assembly, the Legislature was bribed; if a newspaper said a good word of him, it was paid to do it. If it was consistently friendly, he owned an interest in the establishment. No one who has lived in Georgia since the close of the war can doubt the fidelity of the portrait by the communist artist. If the ex-Governor be a man of any humor whatever, he must be as much amused as offended by the manifold and conflicting charges brought against him, and the multiplicity of schemes which he is declared to have originated. The evil spirit of the Indians was never an object of more fear to the ignorant children of the forest than this man is to the people of Georgia, nor were the stories of the power of and designs of the one a whit more wild than some of the fables which have been set afloat concerning the Cherokee chieftain. Nothing, it would seem, has been too extraordinary or improbable for the imagination of writers or the credulity of readers. If the man did a tinge of what he is accused of doing, he is a mental and physical phenomenon—an eighth wonder of the world, more wonderful than the other seven com-



lined. He is everywhere at the same time—irrepressible, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent. He 'runs' the city of Atlanta, he 'runs' the State of Georgia, he 'runs' railroads, coal mines, iron furnaces, steamship companies, newspapers, job offices, churches, free schools, colleges, universities, the farmers, the democratic party, the liberals, the conservatives, the negroes and the whites, and between whites engages in banquets, difficulties and duels. One day we are informed that he is intriguing energetically, adroitly and with good chances for success for the Vice-Presidency. The next he is plotting to prevent any Atlanta man from warming his feet or cooking his food with coal which does not come from his mines. The next he is at the head of a ring which has control of the whole State; and is parceling out the offices to his friends and adherents. The next he is manipulating a congressional convention by telegraph. The next he is dictating to the Georgia Legislature. The next he is heading a faction and waging war with the lessees of the Western and Atlantic railroad. The next he selects a chancellor for the university, etc. If he speaks, every word is sifted to discover a meaning which it does not bear on its face. If he remains quiet, he is plotting—giving away such trifles as governorships, seats in Congress, on the Supreme Bench and in the United States Senate.

"Last Wednesday the *Atlanta News* sounded a long 'note of warning' to the people of Georgia. The ex-Governor is 'caucussing' and making up slates—this time in the interest of the holders of the bogus bonds. 'It is reported that the political slate includes the candidature of Mr. James Brown, a brother of ex-Gov. Brown, for Governor, and the appointment of certain parties to judgeships, besides the running of candidates for the Legislature in all the counties.' This is the programme for 1876. Such a man is dangerous to the country and the people. With the lamp of Aladdin, the purse of Fortunatus, the pass word of Ali Baba, the helmet of Pluto, the armor of Achilles, the genius of Napoleon, the diplomacy of Talleyrand and the pertinacity of the devil, there is no withstanding him. Can we not make him a respectable kingdom either in Mexico or South America and induce him to emigrate? The experiment is certainly worth trying."

Gov. Brown had come into full accord with the Democratic party. Supporting Gov. Smith for Governor against his life-time friend, Judge D. A. Walker; and Greeley for president against Grant, he had aligned himself squarely with the Democracy. He gave in connection with the Tilden-Hayes presidential contest, a demonstration of his Democratic fealty and individual value to the party, that drew upon him national attention. Florida was one of the States whose vote for President afforded the chance for thwarting the election of Mr. Tilden. It was one of the three battle-fields of that novel conflict, which it is to be hoped may never be again witnessed in this Union, and which involved the defeat of the people's will by the abominable mechanism of party returning boards.

Gov. Brown, though sick and unfit for duty, yielded to a general public desire, and went to Florida to give his great abilities to protecting the purity of the ballot, and ensuring a fair count of the Tilden vote. Through the wearisome phases of this vital conflict he remained,



contesting fraud at every step, and finally made an argument of unexampled power in the cause. This episode of valuable service strengthened Gov. Brown's advancing restoration to the public confidence, due to his large measure of public usefulness.

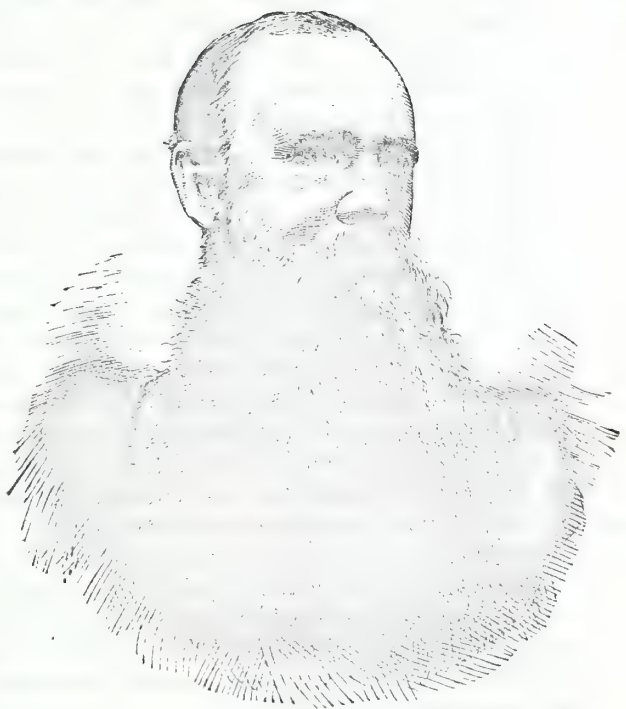
During Gov. Smith's term some changes had taken place upon the supreme bench that require notice. The Hon. R. P. Trippe was appointed to succeed Judge Montgomery, February 17th, 1873. Judge Trippe and Judge McCay resigned from the supreme bench in 1875, and in their places Gov. Smith appointed, July 27th and 29th, Hon. James Jackson and Hon. Logan E. Bleckley. Two more fitting appointments could not have been made. Both were singularly pure and simple-mannered men, both of scholarly culture, both lawyers of the first ability, and both persons of unusually sincere conviction and unbending integrity. Judge Jackson had filled many public trusts, and Judge Bleckley very few. As Congressman and Judge, Hon. James Jackson had won an enviable reputation. Judge Bleckley had been supreme court reporter, and was noted for accuracy, and a certain indescribable style of original thought and sententious polished expression.

Two higher types of men we have never had upon our supreme bench—men more thoroughly representative of the manliest grade of Southern character—men gentle, unpretentious, gifted, resolute, and yet learned in the law. Judge Jackson added to his high qualities the grace of a Christian piety, holding up in his strong life the cause of practical religion. Judge Bleckley has had some interesting peculiarities. A certain vein of witty singularity ran through his nature and cropped out in all sorts of curious ways, carrying an odd conception of a not unpleasant quaintness. It was a thing that few men could do, for him to signalize his resignation from the supreme bench with a poem, that stands to-day upon the grim records of the court. Yet he did it with a touching effect, and in utter relief of the seeming incongruity of such a proceeding. It may show the honorable eccentricity of his character, running to a sort of refined Quixotism of good, to recall an incident.

Judge Bleckley called to renew his subscription to the *Atlanta Herald*. He found that his paper had been delivered several weeks beyond the time for which the subscription was paid. He was very much displeased, and said the running over must not happen again: that when his time was out his paper must be stopped: that it was a rule of his life to go to bed owing no man anything and he had been made to violate his rule. There is a strata of poesy in Judge Bleckley's nature,







A. O. BACON,  
SPEAKER OF THE GEORGIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.



and an irrepressible tendency to quaint conceits of thought, that find vent even in the iron formularies of a Supreme Court decision.

Judge Bleckley was re-appointed Judge in January, 15th, 1877, by Gov. Colquitt. He resigned in 1880, and Hon. Martin J. Crawford was appointed and qualified in his place, February 9th, 1880, by Gov. Colquitt. Chief Justice Hiram Warner resigning in 1880, Judge Jackson was appointed Chief Justice, September 3, 1880, and Hon. Willis A. Hawkins was selected for the vacancy occasioned by Judge Jackson's promotion. On the 17th of November, 1880, the General Assembly elected James Jackson Chief Justice, and Martin J. Crawford and Alex. M. Speer Associate Justices, and this is the present status of the Supreme Court. It is an able, a strong and a learned bench,—such an appellate tribunal of final resort as graces the jurisprudence of a great commonwealth, gives guarantee of an exalted administration of justice, and exalts the dignity and vitalizes the influence of an august judiciary.

Judge Speer, the junior member of the court, has been an honored citizen of Georgia, repeatedly elected to positions of trust, and filling, before his merited elevation to the Supreme Bench, the high place of Judge of the Superior Courts of the Flint Circuit with an ability and dignity not surpassed in the judicial annals of Georgia. Judge Crawford has been distinguished as a statesman and jurist for a quarter of a century, he and Judge Jackson both illustrating the State in the national councils as well as in the judiciary of the commonwealth.

The legislature of 1877 was organized by the election of Hon. A. O. Bacon as Speaker of the House, and Hon. R. E. Lester as President of the Senate. Major Bacon had evinced such extraordinary qualities for a presiding officer that he was chosen Speaker without opposition. Clear, rapid, prompt, polite, with a loud, distinct enunciation, always audible in every part of the hall, thoroughly versed in parliamentary law, using wonderful dispatch in the business of the body, with an imposing manner and uniform dignity, and with an unvarying courtesy of manner, Mr. Bacon was a model Speaker, and his superiority for governing the deliberations of the House so unquestionable, that he was elected by a sort of involuntary and common consent. The same complimentary distinction was conferred upon him by the legislatures of 1878-9 and 1880-1, to both of which he was elected a Representative, the Assembly of 1880-1 being now in session and Major Bacon presiding with his accustomed grace and efficiency.

Col. Lester was also a fine presiding officer, directing the deliberations of a much smaller body, the Senate, and one easier to handle,



but his parliamentary qualities were none the less thorough than those of Speaker Bacon. Col. Lester was also elected President of the Senate of 1878-9. Hon. Evan P. Howell was chosen President of the Senate *pro tem.*, during both of Col. Lester's terms. Mr. Howell succeeded Mr. George Hillyer as the Senator from the Atlanta District. He had been for years chosen as one of the city fathers of Atlanta. He had signal capacity for public affairs, uniting in a marked degree unusual power of party management to a bold, shrewd, practical judgment. He had an exceptional poise of cool sense, and a singularly direct way of going to the marrow of things. In 1876 Mr. Howell bought an interest in the *Atlanta Constitution*, and has since then been one of the proprietors and editors of that powerful paper, and his enterprise and wisdom have been controlling qualities in its wonderful success. Mr. Howell will be an influential factor in Georgia politics in the future.

Among the notable men of the legislature of 1877 was another member of the Georgia press, Hon. Patrick Walsh, one of the Representatives from Richmond county, and one of the proprietors and editors of the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, now the *Chronicle and Constitutionalist*. Mr. Walsh has a solid, stoutly-built, medium-sized figure that gives token of the man, and his substantial momentum of character. A grave, impassive face, and a steady, deliberate manner, increase the idea of strength that attaches to him. Of Irish blood, Mr. Walsh has a good deal of the sturdy combativeness that belongs to that race, and yet he is free from the excitability that leavens largely the Irish nature.

Mr. Walsh is a person of unusual force, direct, simple, truthful, positive, and with an irrepressible rising quality in him that will carry the man very high. He is daring and yet methodical and self-poised. He is a true and earnest person, a faithful friend and an open opponent, striking hard but honorably. He is both a forcible writer and an impressive speaker. One of the colleagues of Mr. Walsh, from Richmond county, was Col. J. C. C. Black, a gentleman of earnest and effective oratory, who made some speeches of uncommon power in the campaign of 1880. There were some very bright men in this body, who have since steadily risen in public esteem. Among these were A. P. Adams, A. H. Gray, H. H. Carlton, Henry Hillyer, N. L. Hutchins, A. D. Candler, W. J. Northern, J. T. Jordan, A. L. Miller, J. H. Polhill, J. A. Reid, J. D. Stewart, W. M. Hammond, A. H. Cox, F. H. Colley. Among the older members were P. M. Russell, W. P. Price, R. J. Moses, Jas. M. Smith, W. W. Paine, Wm. Phillips.





Gov. Colquitt was called upon for suggestions in regard to the financial matters of the State and sent in a message showing a most thorough investigation of every point connected with the management of the finances, and suggesting a comprehensive system of retrenchment and reform. The ideas advanced by him covered the ground of the reform afterwards instituted by the Convention and legislatures. This message is a remarkable document, and Gov. Colquitt may well plume himself upon its practicality and comprehensiveness. He discussed ably the saving by a more exact return of property for taxation, a more rigid collection of taxes, a more economical collection of taxes, reduction in the cost of legislation and legislative clerk hire, decrease in the outlay of the contingent, printing and building funds, reduction in the number of clerks in the various departments, lessening the number of judicial circuits, the cutting off of superfluous offices, and the inauguration of small economies.

Gov. Colquitt put in practical operation the economies he suggested as far as lay in his power. He immediately imposed the duties of the Keeper of Public Buildings on a clerk in the Executive office without extra pay. He made considerable savings in the contingent, printing and building funds. Every expenditure for the State was scrutinized as closely as a private account. Gas, coal, labor, stationery, postage, printing, advertising, clerk hire and incidental expenses were all reduced in cost to the State. The extraordinary financial fruits of Gov. Colquitt's administration will be shown hereafter.

Among the legacies of burden left from previous administrations to Gov. Colquitt were several bankrupt railroads, whose bonds the State had endorsed. These were the Macon and Brunswick, the North and South, and the Memphis Branch railroads. The Brunswick and Albany railroad had received State aid in Gov. Jenkins' term to the amount of \$1,950,000, and subsequently \$600,000 in Gov. Bullock's term. The \$600,000 had been thrown over. The \$1,950,000 were recognized, and in July, 1873, Gov. Smith seized the road for non-payment of interest. In May, 1874, Gov. Smith endorsed the bonds of the Memphis Branch railroad for \$34,000, and seized the road in May, 1876, for non-payment of interest in January and July, 1875. In December, 1872, Gov. Smith endorsed the bonds of the North and South railroad for \$240,000, and in April, 1874, he seized the road for non-payment of interest. These three roads were placed in the hands of receivers, were sold, and all came into the ownership of the State. The Macon and Brunswick railroad was sold at public outcry and bought in, June, 1875, by Gov.



Smith for the State, and put under the management of E. A. Flewellen, W. A. Lofton and George S. Jones.

In 1876, the Macon and Brunswick railroad showed \$28,000 paid into the treasury. From December 1, 1876, to September 30, 1878, under Gov. Colquitt, \$65,000 was paid into the treasury, and \$164,608.12 from September 30, 1878, to February 29, 1880, showing the increased payments to the State. The iron and property of the Memphis Branch railroad was sold in August, 1877, for \$9,000, to the Marietta and North Georgia railroad. The North and South railroad was sold to Louis F. Garrard and others for \$40,500, and the money is now in the treasury. The Macon and Brunswick railroad was sold, conveyance made and the property transferred on the 28th day of February, 1880, for \$1,125,000, of which \$250,000 was paid down, and the balance is to be paid in payments of \$250,000 in two years from that date, and \$625,000 in four years. The company is under obligation to extend the road in five years from date of sale to Atlanta, and is building such extension.

In 1876, the sum of \$542,000 of bonds was issued and sold, and the proceeds used to pay the accrued back interest on the Macon and Brunswick, and North and South railroad bonds. In 1877, the sum of \$2,298,000 of six per cent. bonds were issued to exchange for the seven per cent. endorsed bonds of these railroads, and the Memphis Branch railroad. The aggregate bonded liability of the State on these railway enterprises is \$2,842,000. Under Gov. Colquitt's administration the sum of \$1,174,500, principal, will be realized from them, leaving the balance against former administrations of \$1,667,500 of loss from unfortunate endorsements.

The General Assembly of 1877 elected a successor to Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, United States Senator. The contest was quite an animated one, and continued for several days. The first day's joint ballot on Wednesday, January 24th, 1877, resulted: T. M. Norwood, 96 votes, B. H. Hill 78, Jas. M. Smith 27, H. V. Johnson 11, D. A. Walker 4; total 216, needed to elect 109. Mr. Norwood was the strongest candidate on this vote, but lacked 13 ballots to elect him. The struggle was between Mr. Norwood and Mr. Hill. The under-current of strategy was active and interesting, and gossip gave to Gov. Brown the direction of the final result. On Thursday the joint ballot stood: Norwood 95, Hill 77, Smith 29, Johnson 10, Walker —. The coquetting of both the Norwood and Hill managers with the Smith men was ardent. Rumor, the jade, put it that Dr. Carlton was very instrumental in some clever work for Mr. Hill. The gossip ran that some of Mr. Hill's men had been



detailed to vote for Gov. Smith, and at the proper time initiated the movement that carried Hill through. Be this as it may, on Friday, on a single joint ballot, the vote stood, Hill 114, Norwood 85, Smith 5, Johnson 5, not voting 4, and Mr. Hill was transferred from the House to the Senate for the six years beginning March 4, 1877, and ending March 4, 1883.

The same legislature elected N. C. Barnett, Secretary of State, J. W. Renfro, Treasurer, and W. L. Goldsmith, Comptroller General.





## CHAPTER XLVI.

### GOVERNOR COLQUITT'S BRILLIANT FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Grumbling at the State Constitution of 1868.—The Legislature of 1877 Inaugurates a Convention Movement.—The Constitutional Convention of 1877.—Its Personelle.—Ex-Gov. C. J. Jenkins its President.—The Work of the Convention.—Gen. Toombs and Railroad Restriction.—The Capital Question Settled.—A lively Battle between Milledgeville and Atlanta.—New Judges.—C. D. McCutchen.—Henry Tompkins.—President R. B. Hayes' Visit to Atlanta.—Gov. Colquitt's Memorable Speech of Welcome.—Gov. Colquitt's Splendid Financial Administration.—The Growling over Financial Success.—The State Road Droppings.—The Tuggle Picking.—Bonanzas and Grumbling.—The Railroad Back Taxes.—The Macon and Brunswick Railroad Earnings.—Floating Debt Knocked Out.—Public Debt Reduced a Million and a half.—Taxation Cut Down nearly one-half.—Tax Burdens Halved.—Small Economies.—Every Expense Decreased.—Noisy Minorities and Quiet but Overwhelming Majorities.—The International Sunday-School Convention. Gov. Colquitt made President.—A Great Compliment.—Chatauqua and Brooklyn.—Gov. Colquitt as a National Harmonizer, and Georgia a Foremost Agent of Moral Civilization.

THE State Constitution of 1868 was in the main a good one, and in ordinary times would have been cherished by the people. It contained some minor defects, that could have been remedied. It was, as a whole, a document of organic law, well suited to the changed condition of public affairs, progressive, liberal, and yet conservative. But unfortunately the method of its formation and imposition upon the State was a standing shock to the public sentiment of a free people. It was the creature of bayonet reconstruction, and had been forced upon the commonwealth. Whatever merits it had were ignored in the resentment born of its origin and the manner of its enforcement.

As soon as the Democrats came into power the agitation began for a convention to frame a new Constitution that should be the product of the State's free volition. The theme continued to be discussed, and excite a growing interest, until the Legislature of 1877, after a protracted discussion of the subject, passed a bill introduced by Hon. A. D. Candler, of Hall county, submitting the issue to the people to say by a popular election, whether a convention should be held. The election was held on the second Tuesday in June, 1877, and resulted in the



success of the convention movement. The vote was small, aggregating only 87,238, out of the 214,665 polls in the State, of which 48,181 were for, and 39,057 against, the convention, the majority being 9,124.

The Convention was called together on the 11th day of July, 1877, by the Governor. There were 194 delegates. The body was a very able one, and its deliberations were marked by dignity. Ex-Gov. Charles J. Jenkins was elected President, a fitting conclusion to his honored, useful and illustrious public career. There were some very strong men in the convention. It included among others, Gen. Robert Toombs, Judge W. M. Reese, Gen. L. J. Gartrell, Judge Thos. G. Lawson, Judge Augustus Reese, Hon. Joshua Hill, Gen. A. R. Lawton, Judge M. L. Mershon, Judge A. H. Hansell, Hon. J. L. Seward, Hon. Nelson Tift, Hon. T. L. Guerry, Judge D. B. Harrell, Hon. T. M. Furlow, Col. M. W. Lewis, Judge T. J. Simmons, Gen. Eli Warren, Judge J. T. Willis, Col. N. J. Hammond, Judge Hugh Buchanan, Judge L. H. Featherston, Judge S. W. Harris, Judge J. R. Brown, Gen. W. T. Wofford, Judge Aug. R. Wright, Hon. L. N. Trammell, Judge J. C. Fain, Col. W. K. Moore, S. Hawkins, C. J. Wellborn, A. W. Holcombe, W. O. Tuggle, Col. John Collier, Col. P. L. Mynatt, Col. Wier Boyd, Dr. H. R. Casey, Hon. Pope Barrow, Col. J. M. Pace, W. R. Gorman, Col. Wm. T. Thompson, Porter Ingram, E. C. Grier, Judge J. L. Wimberley, B. E. Russell, Hon. J. L. Seward, Col. John Screven, J. L. Warren, W. R. Gignilliat, Waring Russell, Col. John M. Guerard, Geo. F. Pierce, Jr., R. L. Warthen.

There was in the body one ex-Governor, two United States Senators, eight Congressmen, seventeen Judges, and ex-legislators innumerable. The convention continued in session from the 11th day of July until the 25th day of August, 1877. There was much discussion and some of it was very able. Some very radical changes were made and striking innovations were grafted upon the organic law. The theory of State aid was killed and buried, and a prohibition against increase of the public debt or any expenditure of public money for any purpose save running the State government was passed. The terms of officers were shortened one-half and salaries reduced, making elections more frequent. The selection of Judges and Solicitors was taken from the appointment of the Executive with the consent of the Senate, and changed to an election by the General Assembly. The largest subject before the convention was the control of railroads by the State. This was a pet measure of Gen. Toombs, and was pressed by him with vigor and ability, and finally was carried. The homestead was largely reduced. The payment of the fraudulent bonds was forever prohibited. An endeavor



was made to check local legislation by requiring notice to be given in the counties affected by it, and by cumbering legislative action upon it by unusual formalities, the practical operation of which has been to protract the time and increase the trouble without diminishing the quantity of local legislation. Biennial sessions were adopted.

The location of the capital at Atlanta or Milledgeville was left to the people to decide by an election, as also the choice of the homestead of 1868 or the one of 1877. The election for ratification of the new constitution, the location of the capital and the choice of a Homestead was held on the 5th day of December. Atlanta and Milledgeville had a warm contest for the capital. The battle was lively and somewhat acrimonious. The arguments used were some of them of a novel and farcical character. That Milledgeville was a stagnant locality where the average legislator would browse in public retrogradation, and that Atlanta was a den of immeasurable iniquity whose atmosphere would ruthlessly poison the virtue of the most faultless legislative body, was irrefutably proven by incontestible evidence. The press entered into the fight with wonderful earnestness. Atlanta was mathematically demonstrated to be responsible for every enormity of the Bullock régime and a despotic reconstruction, while in the same unanswerable manner Milledgeville was shown to be only fit for a conclave of fossils. Atlanta fought the struggle with characteristic liberality and enterprise. She had her committees and flooded the State with documents.

The vote stood: for ratification of the Constitution 110,442: against, 40,947: whole vote, 151,389, out of 214,665: majority for Constitution, 69,495. The vote on the capital was for Atlanta 99,147: for Milledgeville, 55,201: majority for Atlanta, 43,946. The vote for the Homestead of 1877 was 94,722: for that of 1868, 52,000: majority for Homestead of 1877, 42,722.

It was an interesting incident of the convention that it exceeded the \$25,000, prescribed in the Act of the legislature calling it, to pay its expenses. Under the written opinion of the Attorney General, R. N. Ely, the Treasurer, J. W. Renfroe, declined to pay beyond the \$25,000. Gen. Toombs vowed that its deliberations should not be stopped for want of funds, and he advanced \$20,000 to pay its further expenses. The convention passed an ordinance covering the amount, and Gov. Colquitt repaid the loan. It was made quite a cause of complaint in the gubernatorial campaign of 1880, that Gov. Colquitt had no right to repay the money without an act of the Legislature authorizing it. But the people brushed away the causeless censure. Gen. Toombs did a





similar thing when Gov. Smith was first elected. Money was needed to run the State. Bullock had left us stranded and without credit. Gen. Toombs raised \$300,000 on his own account to bridge over the emergency, until money could come in by taxes.

Gov. Colquitt appointed in January, 1877, the following Judges: Geo. N. Lester, Blue Ridge Circuit; Martin J. Crawford, Chattahoochee Circuit; C. D. McCutchen, Cherokee Circuit; H. Buchanan, Coweta Circuit; H. Tompkins, Eastern Circuit; C. Peeples, Atlanta Circuit; E. H. Pottle, Northern Circuit; J. M. Clark, South Western Circuit. Judge C. D. McCutchen was a gallant cavalry officer in the Regiment of Col. I. W. Avery. He had been a State Senator. He was a lawyer of unusual ability and legal discernment, and a gentleman of the highest social and Christian character, possessing a punctilious integrity, severe truthfulness, and a finely balanced temper and judgment. He made one of the best judges in the State. Notwithstanding his admirable spirit of equable temper, he was a very positive Judge, evincing his sturdy decision conspicuously in making the Grand Jury of Bartow county strike some objectionable matter from its presentments, the novel altercation exciting State interest, and resulting in the complete popular endorsement of Judge McCutchen.

Judge Henry Tompkins, of the Eastern Circuit, was a handsome young Alabamian, who fought at sixteen years of age, in the war, and located in Savannah after the surrender. He made a capable and popular Judge. Judge Peeples died in June, 1877, and Gov. Colquitt appointed George Hillyer in his place. Judge B. Hill, of the Macon Circuit, died in September, 1877, and Gov. Colquitt appointed W. L. Grice in the vacancy. Judge J. M. Clark, of the South-western circuit, died in June, 1877, and Gov. Colquitt appointed on that bench a very bright, handsome young lawyer, who had been Solicitor of that circuit, Charles F. Crisp, a son of the well-known tragedian, and a character full of fine promise.

In November, 1878, the following Judges were elected under the new Constitution of 1877; George Hillyer, Atlanta circuit; C. Snead, Augusta circuit; J. L. Harris, Brunswick circuit; Alex. M. Speer, Flint circuit; Thomas J. Simmons, Macon circuit; H. V. Johnson, Middle circuit; Thomas G. Lawson, Ocmulgee circuit; J. W. H. Underwood, Rome circuit; C. F. Crisp, S. Western circuit; and Alex. S. Erwin, Western circuit. The election of Judges by the General Assembly, has proven to be very objectionable, consuming much time of the body, creating a disagreeable experience of electioneering, resulting in combinations of



influence injurious to a choice by merit, and not beneficial to the State Judiciary.

During October, of the year 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes, the President of the United States, visited Georgia, accompanied by his wife, Mr. Wm. M. Evarts, Secretary of State, and D. M. Key, Postmaster-General. The demonstration of respect in Atlanta was overwhelming. Gov. Colquitt and the Mayor of Atlanta, Dr. N. L. Angier, both made addresses of welcome. The speech of Gov. Colquitt was the perfection of good taste and eloquence, and was copied over the whole Union. It was a singularly felicitous utterance. A banquet was given to the distinguished guest, and Gov. Colquitt honored him with a reception at the Executive mansion.

The most brilliant and successful single feature of Gov. Colquitt's remarkably beneficial administration has been its financial results. Watching the minutest details of expenditure in his control, he has, in all matters requiring it, maintained the good faith and proper liberality of the State. And, singularly noticeable, the improvement of the public finances has not only been shown in the ordinary, but in unusual ways. It seems as if some fortunate fatality had guided the pecuniary affairs of the commonwealth during this long rule of Gov. Colquitt, while by a curious piece of fortune, no Executive ever suffered so much of annoying animadversion. While every year has shown the State's progress so far as her treasury is concerned, concurrently with such betterment of money matters, there has been incessant growling at the Chief Magistrate. Large measures of public good were only regarded from a stand-point of dissatisfaction at alleged defects. Heavy payments into the public treasury from unexpected sources, literally picked up, afforded themes for such envenomed grumbling as would indicate that the instrument of these benefactions was an enemy to the commonwealth and the source of injury to the popular interests. The instances of this sort of treatment are numerous and interesting.

The State bought the equipments of the State Road from the United States Government, after the war, and paid for them. Gov. Bullock employed Col. Baugh to re-open the settlement and get back some of the money in excess of the real value. A number of men joined Baugh. Gov. Smith enlarged the contract from 12 1-2 per cent. to not exceed 25 per cent. commission, and allowed more attorneys to come in. The gentlemen engaged were Robert Baugh, Gen. A. C. Garlington, Col. R. A. Alston, J. C. Fain, Henry R. Jackson, A. R. Lawton, W. S. Basinger, W. A. Prescott and C. D. Willard. The claim was



pushed through by that very electrical worker, Col. R. A. Alston, and \$199,038.58 was collected from the United States Government. Gov. Colquitt allowed the ten attorneys to have their 25 per cent., and \$152,278.94 went into the State Treasury to relieve the people. Yet, strange to say, there was less rejoicing over the large gain of money than growling over the fees paid the attorneys under a contract fixed by Gov. Colquitt's predecessors.

But it was impossible to balk Gov. Colquitt's evidently inevitable mission of financial benefit to the State. He kept up his enlargement of State funds. Col. W. O. Tuggle found out that there had been an error of interest growing out of a claim of the State against the United States Government, connected with the Indian hostilities of 1836, in Georgia. The claim was settled. Gov. Colquitt gave Col. Tuggle authority to re-open the matter, having first written to Hon. A. H. Stephens and Hon. H. P. Bell to learn if any such claim was being prosecuted at Washington, and receiving reply in the negative. Col. Tuggle collected the sum of \$72,296.94, received his fee of 15 per cent., amounting to 10,844.54, and paid the balance into the State Treasury, of \$61,452.40. It was not an unreasonable thing to suppose that some considerable flush of popular satisfaction would have ensued over this spontaneous and munificent chance of good fortune. But there was a lively episode of altercation over the rich dropping.

Hon. James A. Green of Baldwin county was agent of the State for some claims, and thought he ought to have a portion of Col. Tuggle's fee. Mr. Green had done none of the work, but he memorialized the General Assembly of which he was a member on the subject. A committee was appointed, C. J. Harris, R. C. Humber and H. T. Hollis. The House passed a resolution asking the Governor for the facts, and he gave them in a message. Mr. Humber moved to lay the message on the table. Mr. Green's authority covered claims of the war of 1812 and "former wars." The committee thought "former wars" included the war of 1836, and that Mr. Green had rights, "though he does not appear to have had anything to do with this particular claim," but proposed "to leave the contestants to the courts of the country." Mr. Tuggle has not been disturbed in his fee.

Thus had the Governor seen in the first two years of his fortunate administration \$213,731.34 picked up and put in the public purse. But this was not all. In 1874 an act passed to tax railroads like other property. Many roads claimed chartered exemptions. Gov. Smith pressed the matter by suits and obtained some money.





The decisions of the courts were mostly against the State. The litigation was re-opened by Major R. N. Ely, Governor Colquitt's Attorney General, by the authority of the Governor. Major Ely, aided by Gen. Robert Toombs, pressed new suits vigorously and ably. The handsome amount of \$216,683.27 of back taxes was collected for the State for the years 1874, 1875 and subsequent years. And a principle was established that will bring a large annual revenue into the State from this source. This was a valuable installment for the Treasury, but there was yet some very acrimonious howling at the Executive, Major Ely and Gen. Toombs, on account of their fees. Legislative committees were appointed and sent for witnesses and investigated, and there was a mighty stir to no purpose. Here now was \$430,414.61 plumped into the people's purse from extraneous and extraordinary sources, and yet every dollar had been the subject of growling and censure.

The earnings of the Macon and Brunswick road, as before stated, running to \$164,608.12, can be added to this amount. When Gov. Colquitt was inaugurated, the State was carrying a floating debt of \$350,000. In 1877 this was reduced to \$200,000, and in 1878 completely wiped out. The public debt, when Gov. Colquitt came in, was \$11,095,879. It is now \$9,643,500, having been reduced \$1,452,379, besides four per cent. bonds issued and redeemed. The rate of taxation in 1876 was five-tenths of one per cent., or fifty cents on the hundred dollars, and raised \$1,229,268 on a taxable property of \$245,853,750. The rate of taxation has been reduced under Gov. Colquitt's régime to three-tenths of one per cent., or thirty cents on the hundred dollars, and will raise in 1881 \$750,000 on the taxable property of \$250,000,000. This is a marvelous result in five years—a reduction of taxes, two-fifths or almost a half, and relieving the people from \$679,268 that they paid in tax burdens in 1876. And so far as the Executive of the State can bring such an end, credit is due to Governor Colquitt.

It has not been simply in large matters that there has occurred a marked reduction of expense, but, also, in the smaller affairs of State administration, under the good rule of this conscientious chief magistrate, the Christian Colquitt. The saving in the cost of running the lunatic asylum was \$40,000 in the years 1877 and 1878, and out of the retrenchment was erected a \$25,000 addition to the institution for colored patients. The deaf and dumb and blind asylums were also more economically administered. The expenditures under the contingent, printing and public building funds were diminished one-third. Even in the minor items of postage, proclamations, gas, coal and sta-



tionery, there were substantial economizings. Proclamation printing was decreased from over \$3,000 to less than \$1,000 for instance. And as these economies were begun before the convention of 1877 and the legislatures that followed, and, as Gov. Colquitt suggested the reforms inaugurated by these bodies in his first special message in January, 1877, the credit of the valuable retrenchments that have been made must be accorded to him.

And in spite of the active and unceasing misrepresentation of his acts, the masses of the people appreciated his course and overwhelmingly endorsed him. The anomalies of his public career have been many and striking, but none more than that one of the most valuable administrations of Georgia history has been so rancorously assailed and so signally approved. The crusades against him have been aggressive and implacable, and have seemed to be mighty and invincible. Yet when the test has come, and the public has spoken its verdicts, the popular opinion has shown itself so crushingly against his assailants, and given in this age and country of small political majorities such ponderous endorsement as to make men doubt the evidence of their own senses, and wonder that minorities can be so disproportionately noisy and phenomenal majorities be so quiet.

An event worthy of noting in the early part of Gov. Colquitt's administration, was the assembling of the International Sunday School convention in 1878, in Atlanta. This body, representing a constituency of eight millions of Sunday School teachers and scholars, the Christian children of the English-speaking world of all denominations, was the grandest and most important convocation of the century. It had as delegates the leading spirits of the world in eloquence, piety and Christian influence—the men of power and genius in every section—profound thinkers, transcendent orators, learned and devout divines of world-wide fame. There never has been a gathering of brighter and more illustrious men. It was an unbroken galaxy of Christian intellectualities.

It was a proud, personal triumph as well as a rare tribute to the State that the Governor, by his personal magnetism and moral and mental power, captured this body of superior men. Gov. Colquitt was unanimously chosen as the President of this impressive convention for four years. He made some of the most eloquent speeches of the session, and left an impress upon its sacred deliberations and critical membership that was an honor to himself and Georgia. To the four corners of the globe was carried the praises of our enlightened commonwealth and her representative Christian Governor.



It was a gratifying continuation of this unusual and enviable influence and repute, that Governor Colquitt was invited to, and attended vast religious gatherings of the Christian thinkers and workers of the North, at Chatauqua and Brooklyn. His speeches were equal to the great occasions, and reacted nobly upon the State. Among recognized intellectual powers he took a foremost stand. He contributed some potential outgivings in the cause of national fraternization, and gave to Georgia the lofty prestige due to a sectional harmonizer. It was an august mission for any man, a mission requiring brain and eloquence and spiritual fervor—a mission strengthened by a handsome presence, a noble face, and the warm, genial and magnetic Southern manner that make up the physical personality of Gov. Colquitt. Few men could have gone to these focal centers of critical intelligence and have sustained, so brilliantly and with such harvest of fame, so trying an ordeal. And not the least of its superb results was that the State of Georgia was thereby placed foremost among the admitted agencies of moral civilization.





## CHAPTER XLVII.

### THE EXTRAORDINARY CRUSADE OF HOSTILITY TO GOV. COLQUITT.

The Democratic Party of the State Overgrown and Unwieldy.—Dissension Inevitable.—Universal Desire for Office.—Gov. Colquitt's Popularity.—His Friends after Place.—The Torrent of Applications and Disappointments.—Gov. Colquitt's Inaugural.—The Assaults upon Him Begin.—The North-eastern Bond Endorsement.—A Great Calumny.—Gov. Colquitt's Ringing Message Demanding Investigation.—The Legislature of 1878-79.—Its Personelle.—H. D. McDaniel.—J. B. Cumming.—E. P. Howell.—H. G. Turner.—W. M. Hammond.—A. L. Miller.—L. F. Garrard.—The North-eastern Bond Enquiry.—The Complete Exoneration of Gov. Colquitt.—Wholesale Investigation.—A Carnival of Nosing.—The Comptroller General, W. L. Goldsmith.—Bribery Attempted.—Excitement.—Goldsmith Impeached.—The Trial.—A Defence Full of Mistakes.—Judge Warner as Presiding Officer.—The Defence Breaks Down.—The Comptroller's Conviction and Sentence.—The Treasurer.—Attempt and Failure of His Impeachment.—Prof. Orr.—Col. N. C. Barnett and His Wax.—Capt. John W. Nelms.—The Principal Keeper of the Penitentiary.—A Lively Investigation.—The Effort to Involve Gov. Colquitt.—An Exciting Episode.—The Recoil of a Personal Attack.—Gov. Colquitt's Fine Attitude Amid an Epidemic of Suspicion.

THE overwhelming majority of the Democratic party in Georgia in 1877, would at first flush seem a favorable augury for Gov. Colquitt and his administration. It was really a state of things full of the worst portent. The organization was overgrown, unwieldy, and heterogeneous. It was composed of the confused and illy-welded fragments of the conflicting parties of half a century of shifting political strife. Antagonism to reconstruction had, under the inspiration of a common Southern sentiment, united under a common party banner every diversity of party adherent, representing every shade of public opinion, and the most irreconcilable party theories. It was a curious jumblement of views and prejudices, destined inevitably to dissensions in the absence of opposition to weld together its incongruous elements.

There were many most potent causes to breed trouble in the vast and loosely organized party. The war had impoverished the whole people, and the aspirants for office were countless. It was a clamorous question of bread. The smallest public salaries had a value strangely disproportioned to their amount, and the character and abilities of the men seek-



ing them. Places were very few, and applicants innumerable and importunate.

Again Gov. Colquitt had become a sort of public idol. His popularity was phenomenal. His wonderful agreeability, captivating tact, and shining moral life, endeared him to men of all classes. He had hundreds upon hundreds of personal friends, who worked zealously for his election, and each one thought that he should be preferred above all others, and granted anything he might wish. It has yet to be recorded that any man's friendship stood the test of a disappointment of his office aspirations, even though it was a conclusively proper disappointment.

There will never, in the history of Georgia, be such another universal rush for office as there was in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-seven. From the day that Gov. Colquitt was nominated, the torrent of earnest applications poured in upon him. From all parts of the State they came, running to hundreds, for each position in his gift. Friends of long standing, with touching pleas of necessity, appealed to him for the opportunity to make a living. There were pathetic revelations of pecuniary distress, that would have moved any heart, much less, one so sympathetic as Gov. Colquitt's. The ordeal was appalling. This siege of the friendly unfortunates, many of them life-time intimates in sore need, was the most trying situation of his life. The offices were pitifully meager. Five places in the Executive office, an Attorney General, a Keeper of the Penitentiary, a Librarian, ten Superior Court Judges, and as many Solicitors, were the small sum total of the patronage in his gift,—about thirty, all told. And for these, hungry, desperate men, by the thousand, were fervently entreating. There were over one hundred applications for the office of Principal Keeper of the Penitentiary; and as many for State Librarian. Thirteen able lawyers wanted to be Solicitor of the South Western Circuit, and eleven to be Judge, making twenty-four in all, in one little circuit of the most intelligent and influential leaders of opinion, of whom twenty-three must be offended. One friend was held, and twenty-three active, prominent, implacable enemies were gained at one stroke.

Gov. Colquitt gazed aghast at the situation, and realized, though not fully, for no man could anticipate it, the storm that was brewing. It was an extraordinary time. The hunger for place was exaggerated by long deprivation and men's really stern needs. With Gov. Colquitt's election by such an unheard-of majority, it looked as if the political millenium had come to his necessitous supporters. Men seemed to



think that the offices were ample for any demand. Hundreds applied, designating no office, but asking for some place, and leaving it to the Governor's discrimination to select one that would suit their respective qualities. There can be no more pathetic and suggestive reading than this vast collection of letters filed in the Executive Department, and a hundred years from now the curious delver of that day into the official records of this time, will read in the plaintive story of these multitudinous applications, the most eloquent portrayal of a State's impoverishment, and of the cruel visitation of implacable enmity that came upon the Executive, whose offending was that he did not have an office for every worthy applicant.

Gov. Colquitt was inaugurated on the 12th day of January, 1877. His chaste and eloquent inaugural concluded in these exquisite words:

"Our work is before us, gentlemen, and a grand achievement is within our grasp. That work is the restoration of a vast heritage, which a sad fortune has sorely wasted and damaged. It is to evoke a thousand splendid resources, now unutilized. It is to maintain the proudest and noblest traditions—an honor unsullied—the status of as worthy and respectable a constituency as exists, and its position by the side of the most advanced of commonwealths. This labor, vast as it is, exacts no impossible thing at our hands. With the blessings of Heaven, and the agencies of clear heads and pure hearts, it may be accomplished.

"Again solemnly invoking the Divine aid upon our efforts to serve our beloved State, I now take the oath of office."

He immediately made his appointments, and the mutterings of the public thunder began. There was no delay in the gathering of the storm. No human power could parallel the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and make thirty offices embrace 3,000 people. There were 2,970 disappointed men; they were scattered over the State; they were the best citizens, influential and active, and they made a nucleus of hostility that from that day to this has growled at and battered the Executive, heading an implacable opposition to Gov. Colquitt, and making his administration, perhaps, the most turbulent of the century. No Executive in the annals of the State has had such an unremitting and virulent crusade of assault as Gov. Colquitt.

He differed from Gov. Brown, and from his great father, Walter T. Colquitt, in this, that while they made aggressive battle, he fought with an invincible defensiveness. In all the fierce warfare kept up incessantly against Gov. Colquitt and his administration, with his assailants striking fiercely not only his public acts, but malignantly seeking to besmirch his personal honor and honesty, to the eternal credit of his resolute religious firmness be it said, that he never





attempted to retaliate a slander or inflict an injury. Unyielding, and set immovably against his foes, he never touched them to wound, but with a heroism of patience, as unusual as it was lofty, he was satisfied to win the triumph of his reputation from the overwhelming verdict of the people, leaving his enemies to public opinion, and unscathed by the malice they deserved.

It will be a noble figure in Georgia history, this comely Christian Governor striking down the hot calumnies against his private and public fame, without having sullied his victory by the indulgence of even a justifiable resentment against his slanderers. The figure will grow brighter with time. A more unsparing temper, and a campaign of recrimination, might have saved him from many an attack provoked by his moderation, but it could not have added one particle to his complete victory.

The act of Gov. Colquitt's administration that was most unscrupulously used against him, was the endorsement of the bonds of the North-eastern Railroad for \$260,000, or \$6,500 per mile for forty miles. The matter was investigated fully in every possible light for weeks by a legislative committee, and not only sworn legal evidence taken, but even rumors sifted under oath. It constitutes one of the most extraordinary episodes of either individual or public record. That so flimsy a pretext should be made the basis of so grave a calumny and so extended an official inquiry, is something anomalous, and savors of the farcical. The occurrence illustrates how an unreal thing can be exaggerated and falsified by a whispering malice into such proportions that honest human character totters in the balance, and a great State becomes the grand inquest to puncture the aspersion. It shows further, how an act done under the purest considerations of private conscience and public duty can be perverted into wrong under an ingenious hostility.

The aid of the State was pledged to this road in 1870. In 1874, State aid generally was repealed except where vested. The same legislature of 1874, by resolution, excepted this road from the general repeal. Gov. Smith appointed J. H. Powers, J. A. Grant and C. B. Wallace to inspect the road for State aid, and they reported favorably January 9, 1877, a few days before Gov. Colquitt's inauguration. Gov. Colquitt treated the matter very carefully. He advised its submission to the courts. The Supreme Court decided that it had no jurisdiction in the case, and referred the matter back to the Governor.

The Governor finally granted the aid to save the road from being sold



under an indebtedness of some \$237,632.97, incurred upon the faith of the State, that the State's endorsement would be given when the conditions of the law were complied with. The Atlanta Rolling mill and Citizen's Bank had large interest in the decision, the Rolling mill having furnished iron for the road, and the bank backing the mill. Mr. J. W. Murphy, the Treasurer's clerk, was employed by the Rolling mill to get up the statements of leading members of the legislature of 1874 to show that the intention was to except the North Eastern railroad from the operation of State aid. Hon. B. H. Hill was also employed by the Rolling mill to secure the endorsement. The subject created a profound interest. Of the legislature of 1874, A. O. Bacon, Speaker, L. N. Trammell, President, T. J. Simmons, Chairman Finance Committee, Geo. A. Mercer, Geo. F. Pierce, Jr., Chairman Judiciary Committee, H. D. McDaniel, and also Gen. Toombs, Gen. A. R. Lawton and ex-Gov. Jos. E. Brown favored the endorsement.

Mr. Goodnow, general manager of the Schofield rolling mill, wrote a private letter expressing the intimation that Gov. Colquitt had yielded to improper considerations in granting the aid, and the air became filled with the painful rumors that the Executive had participated in Mr. Murphy's fee. That so incredible a calumny should find a lodgment in the public mind was indeed a shock to Gov. Colquitt, and he met it with indignant spirit.

The legislature of 1878 met November 6, 1878. It proved to be a session of extraordinary work that this body held. Hon. R. E. Lester was elected President of the Senate, and Hon. A. O. Bacon, Speaker of the House. Among the Senators were D. A. Russell, E. C. Bower, John T. Clark, Wm. Harrison, J. M. Hudson, J. C. Clements, Jos. B. Cumming, J. A. Stephens, C. W. Du Bose, T. B. Cabaniss, T. W. Grimes, H. D. McDaniel, J. A. Speer, J. W. Preston, H. R. Casey, S. W. Lumpkin, A. D. Candler, E. P. Howell, A. W. Holcombe, S. Grantland, C. J. Wellborn, J. C. Fain, Saml. Hawkins. This Senate was a very strong one, and had in it some gentlemen of superior ability and decision.

Mr. McDaniel is in the present Senate. A sound thinker, a clear speaker, having a well-balanced temper and judgment, direct and honest, winning universal respect by his dignity and sincerity, Mr. McDaniel has been a most potential member of the legislature, always carrying great weight. It has been a striking evidence of the large influence he has exercised, that a considerable impediment in his speech has been no barrier to the exalted appreciation of him entertained by the General



Assembly and the public. Men in listening to his strong, sensible views so clearly expressed, forget entirely the manner of their utterance. Mr. J. W. Preston was a marked Senator in this body. A very ready, extemporaneous speaker, earnest and faithful to his convictions, Mr. Preston was a recognized leader. Perhaps, the most polished debater in the Senate was Major J. B. Cumming. There is a peculiarly musical tone in his delivery, and he has a diction chaste and ornate. Mr. A. D. Candler was a forcible debater, always speaking with an emphasis and directness that insured attention and gave him weight. Mr. Clements is now a member of Congress, and was a modest, solid Senator then, a practical, clear-headed, positive legislator, who enjoyed universal respect. Mr. T. B. Cabaniss held an excellent position and spoke well. A fine debater was Judge John T. Clarke, a model of logical argument. T. W. Grimes was a young Senator, blending singularly a fine courtesy with an uncommon decisiveness of character and independence of conviction. Col. J. C. Fain is now judge of the Cherokee circuit, and had an exceptional power of management. Capt. E. P. Howell was the very essence of a practical, common sense, animated by an exceedingly rich humor, and grappling all questions and measures with force and an unvarying success. All of these men will impress themselves on the future of the State.

The House, also, had some notable and promising characters. Among these were A. O. Bacon, T. W. Milner, R. A. Nisbet, H. G. Turner, A. H. Gray, A. P. Adams, W. H. Hulsey, P. L. Mynatt, W. R. Rankin, Allen Fort, N. L. Hutchins, J. E. Redwine, W. J. Northern, R. L. McWhorter, A. L. Miller, J. H. Polhill, H. C. Roney, Reese Crawford, L. F. Garrard, L. F. Anderson, James M. Smith, H. G. Wright, John I. Hall, J. C. Maund, Wm. M. Hammond, A. H. Cox, J. F. Awtry, J. A. R. Hanks and F. H. Colley. Col. H. G. Turner is now a member of Congress, and was the leader of the House. His utterances commanded a remarkable attention. Having little oratorical grace, speaking without fervor and very plainly, and often too low for hearing, yet members always showed an undisguised eagerness to hear what he had to say, and his position on any measure generally decided its fate. His legislative career was a singular demonstration of personal influence. He was rather under-sized, stoutish, with a large, expansive forehead running to baldness, lit up by dark eyes, and he was very quiet, grave and polite in his simple manners.

W. M. Hammond ranked very high. His fine face denoted intelligence and culture. A Carolinian by birth, and a member of the gifted





Hammond blood of that State, he has, in Georgia, taken the high position due to his strong and cultured intellect, graceful courtesy and eloquent speaking power. Mr. J. H. Polhill was a recognized leader, a lawyer of ability, and a person of integrity and convictions. One of the most marked men in the body, and possessing some exceptional qualities, was A. L. Miller. A slender, clear-faced gentleman, with searching, coal-black eyes, he had as much power on the floor as any member in the House. There was no more successful debater. His talks could hardly be called speeches, but were rather keen thrusts and incisive statements, cutting to the quick the weak points of the opposition, and presenting plainly the practical ones of his own side. He was inimitable in defending an assaulted report of the finance committee, of which he generally took the lead. Mr. Miller made a hobby of economy, and rather ran it to extremes. A ready parliamentarian, he shrewdly anticipated defeat by some adroit concession that secured him a modified victory. Mr. L. F. Garrard was one of the brightest and most active members, generally uniting his energies with Mr. Miller. He originated several large public financial measures, and he had an unwearied zeal and tact in getting them through. Bold, combative and ready, Mr. Garrard took an unusual stand for a new and young legislator.

A marked young member also was Arthur H. Gray, whose frankness is a refreshing and uncommon quality in a day of political hypocrisy. H. G. Wright was witty and popular. Perhaps the most original character in the House was John C. Maund, a man of peculiar jest and quaintly practical. His hard sense was flavored with an unctuous and perennial humor. One of the brilliant young members was A. H. Cox, a natural orator and legislator. His ringing voice penetrated the House more resonantly than any one, and his clear tones never carried a weak utterance. No man commanded a more attentive hearing than Mr. Cox. Col. P. L. Mynatt was a most useful and influential legislator. A very gifted young representative was A. P. Adams, eloquent, argumentative, the master of a compact logic. James M. Smith of Oglethorpe county, was a progressive, successful farmer of large operations, entirely at home on the legislative floor. W. H. Hulsey was a gallant officer in the war, was made Mayor of Atlanta soon after, and was a bright, pleasant, promising young fellow.

The action of this legislature will ever be a memorable chapter of Georgia history. It settled the North Eastern railroad bond calumny upon the Governor. Shocked and indignant at the aspersion, Gov.



Colquitt met it with the high spirit that belonged to the man, and he sent into the General Assembly the following matchless message, as eloquent, fitting, and sententious a paper as was ever penned:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }  
ATLANTA, GA., November 6, 1878. }

"TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

"A grievous necessity has been imposed upon me to demand at your hands a thorough investigation of my motives and conduct, as the Executive of Georgia, in placing the State's endorsement upon the bonds of the North-eastern railroad. This necessity has been created by widely circulated slanders and innuendoes, vile and malignant, and so mendacious and wicked as to make all comment and paraphrase upon them utterly futile. Nothing but a thorough sifting of my every motive and act in regard to these bonds, as far as human insight and judgment can reach these, can satisfy aggrieved honor, or give such entire assurance to the people of Georgia, as they have a right to demand in the premises. To a man who values his good name far more than life, it would be an act of supremest injustice to deny the most plenary vindication rendered in the most august and authoritative form known to the laws, or to public opinion. To the people of this great Commonwealth, it is of the last consequence that they should know beyond all peradventure, that the man who fills, at their call, the chief seat of authority, is above reproach or suspicion.

"My denunciations of an awful and stupendous slander, forged and uttered to dishonor me, will not be enough. The General Assembly of this State—a co-ordinate power—is appealed to for that justice which, while it will, I know full well, exonerate me as a man, will also vindicate the fair fame of Georgia, assailed by cruel slanders on her Chief Executive.

ALFRED H. COLQUITT."

This ringing document went over the State carrying like an electric spell the inspiration of its resenting innocence and stern defiance. There was never a more stirring or exquisite expression of a wounded spirit of honor. A joint committee was appointed in conformity with the request of the Governor, to investigate the matter, consisting of A. H. Cox, W. M. Hammond, R. C. Humber, H. G. Wright, John I. Hall, W. J. Northern, Allen Fort and A. H. Gray of the House, and J. W. Preston, J. F. Troutman, H. R. Casey, J. P. Tison and Saml. Hawkins of the Senate.

The investigation continued, and the committee reported on the 12th day of December, 1878. During the inquiry there were many incidents, to keep the public sense excited. A personal difficulty nearly occurred between Maj. J. W. Murphy and Hon. B. W. Hill, and a suit was started between them about the fee paid by the Rolling mill. It was a painful ordeal for a proud man like Gov. Colquitt, to thus have his private integrity and official honor under investigation. But such is the disagreeable accompaniment of public trust. Gov. Colquitt's conduct in this unspeakable trial was perfect. He stood serene,



patient, unirritated, acting with a noble christian dignity that endeared him to the public esteem. The majority of the committee thus reported:

"In the opinion of this committee, the reports and rumors that connect the name of the Governor with any improper conduct in the matter of the endorsement of the bonds of the North eastern Railroad Company, are vile and malignant slanders."

The minority of the committee, Wm. M. Hammond and R. C. Hamber, thus reported:

"We brand as a libel the insinuation that the determination of Governor Colquitt to endorse the bonds was induced by any sinister influence or unworthy motive."

The committee was unanimous and emphatic in vindicating the Governor, but divided upon the question of approving the action of Maj. J. W. Murphy in taking a fee in the matter. The majority of the committee exonerated Mr. Murphy. The minority declared it an abuse for any government employes to receive rewards in consideration of influencing or attempting to influence the official conduct of any officers of the government.

The reports being made on the 12th of December, 1878, and the legislature adjourning on the 13th, there was not time for an examination by the body of the voluminous evidence. The action on the reports was therefore deferred until the summer session. Mr. McDaniel of the Senate, offered this resolution.

"*Resolved*, That this General Assembly cannot adjourn, in justice to a co-ordinate branch of the Government, to themselves, and to the State, without placing upon the record an avowal of our undiminished confidence in the integrity and purity of the Governor of our State."

Mr. Cumming offered the following amendment, which was added, and the resolution passed both branches:

"*Resolved*, That the postponement by the General Assembly of action on the report of the Investigating Committee, is not to be construed as an expression that its confidence in the character of the Governor, a character exalted by his civil, military and private career, is at all shaken, but such postponement by the General Assembly is simply due to its own appreciation of the proprieties of judicial proceedings, which forbid judgment in any and all cases, before the cases have been heard."

The legislature reassembled July 2d, 1879, and during this session the committee united upon the following, which was adopted by the body as the final conclusive action upon this matter, entirely and formally relieving Gov. Colquitt.

"Your committee, from the want of any evidence sustaining such charges, and from the mass of evidence disproving such charges, report this conclusion: That his Excellency deserves, at the hands of the General Assembly, complete vindication on the issues





made by him, and specified above. Your committee have unanimously concluded that his Excellency did not, in any way, shape or form, participate in the fee received by Mr. John W. Murphy; that no offer of any such thing was made by any one to his Excellency; that said fee did not control his conduct in said endorsement, and that, whether the act of endorsement was legal or illegal, the motives of the Governor were pure."

While this inquiry so signally exonerated the Governor, it seemed as if its effect was to stimulate an epidemic of legislative investigation. A series of inquests was inaugurated. Committees were appointed to look into the Comptroller General's office, the Treasury, the Department of Agriculture, the State School Commissioner's office, the penitentiary system, the public printer and the Secretary-of-State's office. It was a general nosing for wrong. The Legislature put itself upon a prowling recognizance for dark deeds in the various departments. In the wild land office of the comptroller's department there had been for a year or two public mutterings of mismanagement and dissatisfaction. And a committee had spent weeks looking into the trouble. It found much cause of complaint, and a majority of the committee, D. A. Russell, P. D. Davis, L. Strickland and J. C. Maund, recommended that all sales of wild land under transferred *fi. fas.*, be declared null and void. Mr. A. D. Candler made a minority report dissenting from this recommendation. Upon the heels of these reports, Mr. P. D. Davis and L. Strickland startled the Legislature by the declaration, that Mr. H. P. Wright had sought to induce them by bribery to sign a paper prepared by the Comptroller General, making some modifications in their reports.

It would be difficult to convey the excitement created by this disclosure. The wild land committee made a supplemental report, recommending that articles of impeachment be preferred against Col. W. L. Goldsmith, the comptroller. A committee of thirteen, C. D. Phillips, R. L. McWhorter, B. M. Davis, G. R. Sibley, R. A. Cannon, W. J. Pike, A. C. Westbrook, W. T. Irvine, J. A. R. Hanks, A. M. Du Dose and F. H. Colley, was appointed to investigate the facts, and recommend action. The first eight reported articles of impeachment, and the last four dissented from the recommendation. Resolutions for impeachment were passed. A committee of C. D. Phillips, R. L. McWhorter, B. M. Davis, G. R. Sibley, R. H. Cannon, A. C. Westbrook and W. T. Irvine was appointed to notify the Senate. An election for managers of the impeachment was held on the 6th day of August, 1879, and the following gentlemen were elected: H. G. Turner, W. M. Hammond, C. D. Phillips, B. M. Davis, J. H. Polhill, W. J. Pike and A. P. Adams.

On the 16th of August, 1879, the managers presented articles of



impeachment before the Senate, the Hon. H. G. Turner having been chosen the chief manager. Mr. Goldsmith was charged with illegally receiving \$4,582.50 as costs on tax executions; illegally issuing eight tax executions; extorting illegal costs; illegally refusing to receive tax; illegally issuing and transferring 228 wild land executions; illegally paying out \$8,179.73 of the public money without authority; illegally ordering sheriffs to pay tax money in excess to owners; illegally retaining \$11,193.17 of public money; making false returns of \$2,363.61 of public money; illegally retaining \$9,720.40 of insurance taxes and fees; fraudulently altering the wild land records; making false returns of \$6,134.45 of insurance tax; attempting bribery; and for lucre establishing a disgraceful precedent.

On the 21st day of August, 1879, the Senate organized as a High Court of Impeachment, with Hiram Warner, Chief Justice of the Supreme Bench, as the presiding officer of the court. The Senate chamber and galleries were packed with people to witness these novel proceedings. Several Senators asked to be excused from voting, Mr. McDaniel on account of relationship; D. A. Russell and A. D. Candler because they had been on the committee of investigation; Mr. Speer on account of ill health; and J. P. Turner because he had transferred some of the wild lands *fi. fas.* But the Senate did not excuse them. Mr. Goldsmith was allowed until September 1st, 1879, to prepare his answer, which denied the jurisdiction of the Senate, alleged that the matters charged did not constitute an offence, and declared his innocence. The counsel of Mr. Goldsmith were Judge J. L. Hopkins, Col. Milton A. Candler, Capt. Harry Jackson, and W. S. Thompson.

It was generally regarded that the defense made a mistake in filing pleas to the jurisdiction, and to the sufficiency of the articles. All technical resistance should have been foregone and the issue met squarely upon its merits. The argument on these dilatory pleas was made by Col. Candler and Judge Hopkins, for Mr. Goldsmith, and W. M. Hammond and A. P. Adams, for the prosecution, and was very able and exhaustive. The pleas were unanimously over-ruled. The defense made another mistake in objecting to testimony covering conduct during Mr. Goldsmith's first term, on the ground that the articles of impeachment failed to designate him as a former comptroller. This objection was over-ruled, and had an injurious effect in showing a disposition to cut off the examination of charges on their merits. Nearly a week was consumed in this profitless sort of skirmishing. The vote had to be taken by ballot separately on each article, and consumed a deal of time.



It was a right curious matter, that the able Chief Justice, so long accustomed to preside over a judicial tribunal, did not successfully govern the deliberations of the Senate as a court of impeachment. He was little acquainted with parliamentary law, and his decisions were constantly over-ruled by the Senate. The taking of the testimony began on the 8th of September, 1879, and continued until the 13th, when in the beginning of the defense, the counsel of Mr. Goldsmith asked an adjournment of the court. Mr. Goldsmith tendered his resignation to the Governor, who declined to receive it, pending the impeachment trial. On the 15th of September the counsel of Mr. Goldsmith announced that they would introduce no more testimony, and had nothing more to say. The defense thus breaking down, Mr. Turner made a brief speech, and the trial ended by taking the vote on the 17th of September, 1879. Mr. Goldsmith was found guilty of illegally receiving \$4,582.50 as costs on tax executions; illegally extorting costs; illegally refusing to receive tax; illegally issuing and transferring 228 wild land executions; illegally retaining \$9,720.46 of insurance fees and tax; making false returns of \$6,134.45 of insurance tax; and establishing a disgraceful precedent. It was a curious feature of this conviction that though the accused had abandoned defense, and thus stood unresisting a condemnation on every charge, the Senate critically tested every count in the impeachment, and acquitted Mr. Goldsmith upon a number of them. Mr. Lumpkin offered an order that the punishment should be removal from, and life disqualification to hold office. Mr. Howell moved to strike out the disqualification feature of the penalty. This motion received fourteen yeas and twenty-five nays. Mr. Lumpkin's order then passed by thirty-seven yeas to two nays, Senators Head and Preston voting against.

The sentence was declared on the 19th of September, 1879, and its enforcement was a touching spectacle. Judge Hopkins made an impressive statement for Mr. Goldsmith. The Senate chamber was filled, and there was a deep feeling pervading the large assemblage, as this solemn and irreversible fiat of out-lawry was officially announced against this citizen. The incident lost none of its significance, from the fact that in the whole population of a million and a half of this large commonwealth he was the single individual that was thus deprived of the political privileges of a freeman. It was a tragic isolation for any man to occupy, and it carried with it a sympathy that strangely tinged the stern justice of the act.

Of the other investigations several were lengthy and elicited deep





feeling and warm discussion. The Treasurer, Col. J. W. Renfroe, had conducted the affairs of his office with unsurpassable ability. The majority of the committee reported articles of impeachment against him for taking interest on the public deposits. Hon. J. E. Redwine made a minority report against impeachment, quoting the resolution of the General Assembly, of December 8, 1871, relieving Treasurer N. L. Angier from liability for interest on the State deposits, and dismissing suits against him for \$7,000 of such interest. He urged that if Mr. Renfroe had accepted moneys that should have gone into the State Treasury he could be made to pay them over; but to prosecute so faithful an officer by costly impeachment would be unjust to him and contrary to sound policy. Col. Renfroe offered to the House his resignation and the money taken as interest.

The House declined to receive this reparation. Messrs. A. H. Cox, T. W. Milner, Allen Fort, Reese Crawford, R. A. Nisbet, N. L. Hutchins, and W. A. Turner were elected Impeachment Managers. Col. Renfroe had, as counsel, Gen. Henry R. Jackson of Savannah, and Capt. Harry Jackson of Atlanta, father and son. The prosecution was ably conducted. The defense was a consummate piece of legal management. Renfroe's counsel offered to admit all the facts, and required none of them to be proven. Every effort was made to expedite the trial, and get a hearing on the merits. Much raillery was indulged in at the time, that the young and talented managers were unmercifully deprived of the opportunity to make some great speeches, prepared in anticipation of dilatory pleas and demurrers, which were not filed. The facts being promptly admitted, the argument came on swiftly, and was very able. Allen Fort and A. H. Cox spoke for the managers, and did it well. The speech of Mr. Cox was a remarkable one. Harsh in voice, awkward in gesture, full of grimaces and shrieking, the speech was a master-effort, powerful, striking and eloquent. Its argument, sarcasm and eloquence were extraordinary. It was sustained from beginning to end. It covered the whole ground. It held the immense audience electrically. It showed deep study, exhaustive thought and vividness of expression.

Capt. Harry Jackson made a clear, concise, strong legal argument. Gen. Henry R. Jackson is a fervid orator, fluent, imaginative and impassioned, and he made a powerful and thrilling speech. The Senators consumed four days in discussion. Senators Cummings, Cabaniss, Harrison, Preston, Bryan, and others, advocated acquittal. Senators McDaniel, Clarke, Bower and Lester, spoke for conviction. Upon the vote being taken, Treasurer Renfroe was acquitted. A resolution was



passed instructing the Governor to issue execution against him and his sureties for the interest. This was done, but the courts decided in favor of Renfro, and he thus stood exonerated. His conduct through the whole painful ordeal was manly, open, frank and courageous.

The committees investigating Prof. Orr, the School Commissioner, and Col. Barnett, the Secretary of State, found nothing to condemn and everything to approve in their departments. It was jocularly declared that Col. Barnett had used several cents' worth of wax in putting the great seal of State to public documents, and Prof. Orr had paid his own expenses in traveling around in the interest of the public schools. Dr. Janes, the Commissioner of Agriculture, had made some errors of judgment in establishing his valuable department, that, in any other time than an epoch of diseased suspicion, would have passed unnoticed. Dr. Janes resigned his position on the ground that the opposition to the Bureau was personal opposition to him, and he was unwilling that the Department should suffer on his account.

One of the most interesting battles was over the administration of Capt. John W. Nelms, the principal keeper of the penitentiary. This gentleman, in many respects, is a very uncommon character. Having only moderate education, he is one of the most untiring and effective political managers in the State. A devoted friend and an unsparing opponent, an open-handed, free-hearted, out-spoken, fearless character, affectionate in his attachments, wielding a remarkable influence, shrewd and enterprising, he has shown himself a valuable political ally in any contest. He moved to Campbell county when a set of fighting men held a pretty strong political rule. He not only held his own, but administered some severe punishment in several tough encounters forced upon him, and obtained a firm grip on the men of that county. His administration of the penitentiary was careful, conscientious and capable. He had kept up a custom inaugurated by his predecessor, Col. John T. Brown, of removing convicts for the lessees at so much a head. This was an open arrangement between him and the lessees, in no way affecting the State. This was the point of attack against him. The committee was divided. Four members, Chambers, Walters, Garrard and Tarver, condemned the Principal Keeper, but suggested no action. Four members, Ivy, Tatum, Butt and Patterson, entirely justified Capt. Nelms. Mr. Anderson made a third report, not altogether exonerating the Principal Keeper, but leaving the matter to the Governor.

The Legislature referred the subject to the Governor, who did not



remove a faithful officer. Growing out of the method of the investigation with closed doors, a sharp controversy ensued between ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown and Hon. L. F. Garrard, in which the prosecution of the Columbus prisoners, charged with the killing of Ashburn, was re-opened, discussed, and placed in a new light, as has been stated before in this volume.

An attempt was made to throw the responsibility of Nelms' conduct on Gov. Colquitt. Col. C. D. Phillips, of Cobb, boldly charged that the Governor was as guilty as Nelms, and if Nelms went the Governor should go. The utterance fired the House like an electric shock. R. C. Humber endorsed Phillips. Du Bose, of Hancock, replied that the Governor was not under investigation. Turner, of Brooks, followed on the same line. Humber offered a resolution censuring Gov. Colquitt for Nelms' conduct. This was like putting a torch to a powder magazine. In all of the investigations of the State House officers, there had been a large, decided under-current of hostility to the Executive, and it was hoped, through them, to reach him. The issue was clearly made by Humber's resolution. It would be difficult to convey the excitement created. The House adjourned, and a lively night of agitation followed. For once and at last Gov. Colquitt's friends became aroused. The idea of attacking the Executive in a matter that did not concern him, and without even a hearing, evoked a whirlwind of disapproval. The Governor was cool and placid. He seemed glad that the issue had come, and welcomed the chance to meet squarely the secret and unreasoning warfare that was ever threatening him. The fight had to come, and could not present itself in better shape.

The excitement kept up during the night. Men rallied to the Governor, who had never been allied with him. It was recognized that the time had come to rebuke the personal crusade against the Executive. The reaction was overwhelming. The issue was whipped by the mere force of public opinion. In the morning the vote stood 119 against, and 16 for the Humber resolution, and of the sixteen, three voted under a misapprehension, and recalled their vote.

Persistent effort was made to throw upon Gov. Colquitt the responsibility of all the matters evolved from these investigations. But it was in vain. Wholly unconnected with any transgression of any sort, or any lapse of any official; assailed rancorously in every conceivable way, and yet standing pure and unstainable in a very pestilence of accusation; the object of an enmity, ruthless and implacable, but so panoplied in integrity that the most unsparing dissection of motive or





conduct could find nothing in him to visit with a shadow of disapproval, Gov. Colquitt went through such an ordeal as falls to few public servants, and he emerged from it with an unfading crown of honor.

There has never been such a fierce fever of suspicion and groping, wide-spread inquisition. It was a sort of morbid plethora of public virtue, a riot of harsh inquiry, that in its furious sweep suspected all men, no matter how pure and exalted, and doubted all transactions, even though faultless. It was a curious phase of public sentiment, and strangely blended honesty and malice, a proper public spirit and very censurable motives of private, personal dislike and interest. There was much good done, and much injustice threatened. There was a fair measure of evil corrected, a good deal of injustice done and some wrong barely escaped. The matter forms an interesting and exceptional chapter of Georgia history, that has a rich instruction and a vivid interest.



## CHAPTER XLVIII.

### THE POWERFUL HISTORIC GEORGIA TRIUMVIRATE COLQUITT, GORDON AND BROWN.

The Railroad Commission.—Ex-Gov. James M. Smith.—Maj. Campbell Wallace.—Col. Samuel Barnett.—Gov. Colquitt Vilified into the Gubernatorial Race.—A Flaming Contest.—The Most Violent Political Struggle of State Annals.—Slander and Calumny.—The Candidates.—Rufus E. Lester.—L. J. Gartrell.—Hiram Warner.—Thomas Hardeman.—An Event that Turned the State Wild.—The Resignation of United States Senator John B. Gordon.—Appointment of ex-Gov. J. E. Brown.—Bargain and Sale Charged.—Gordon's Fine Senatorial Career.—Great and Brilliant Services.—Thorough Vindication.—Gen. Gordon's Eloquent Speech.—The Value of the Tender to ex-Gov. Brown.—The Alliance of Colquitt, Gordon and Brown, a Union of Ponderous Agencies.—Gov. Colquitt as a Political Fighter.—Gordon's Power.—Senator Brown's Valuable Three Weeks' Service in the United States Senate.—His Success.—Personal Disappointments at not Getting this Appointment.—A Brewing Storm.

ONE of the most important things done by the Constitutional Convention of 1877 was the passage of Gen. Toombs' pet idea that it was the duty of the General Assembly to regulate freight and passenger tariffs, and prevent discriminations. It was a vast measure for the State to take the regulation of fifty millions of private property, upon which rests the whole commercial fabric of the commonwealth, and is its largest single element of power. The discussion in the Convention over it was protracted and befitting its importance. In the General Assembly the bill to carry out this provision of the Constitution was introduced by Hon. W. R. Rankin of Gordon county, a gentleman who had been for several years one of the best journalists of the State. He is a member of the present legislature and chairman of the railroad committee. He is a person of ability, and a clear, forcible speaker. Hon. Allen Fort also introduced a bill forbidding railroads making unjust discriminations. Substitutes, amendments and long discussions marked every step of the measure through House and Senate, demonstrating the great interest it excited. But it finally passed, and was approved October 14, 1859.

Under this act Gov. Colquitt, with the advice of the Senate, appointed three Commissioners: ex-Gov. James M. Smith, lawyer, for six years; Maj. Campbell Wallace, railroader, four years; Samuel Barnett, two



years. The Commissioner's salary is \$2,500, and he must not own railroad stocks or bonds, or be in the employ of any railroad company. Gov. Smith's appointment created much commentary. He had supported Gov. Colquitt for Governor. When he was defeated for United States Senator, he had made a breach of friendship with Gov. Colquitt, and had become very hostile against him. When the North-Eastern bond slander was started against Gov. Colquitt, ex-Gov. Smith promptly condemned it, and amicable relations were restored. Gov. Colquitt, under that high sense of official duty that elevated him above personal considerations in his public acts, appointed Gov. Smith on account of his estimated fitness for the place. And it was said that Gov. Smith, who had suffered denunciation from men whom he had favored, declared that he would lay down the commission of Gov. Colquitt whenever he antagonized him.

Maj. Campbell Wallace has been a marked character in Georgia for many years. He was one of that large body of influential and enterprising citizens that came to Georgia from East Tennessee, and that have become leaders among the business princes of middle Georgia and especially Atlanta. Among these desirable Tennessee immigrants, men of brain, energy and leadership, may be mentioned Judge John L. Hopkins, the Inmans, P. L. Mynatt, the Lowrys, Wm. T. Newman, the Parrotts, the Fains, J. J. Williams, Reuben Arnold, S. R. McCamy, John G. Dunn, Wm. H. Tibbs, and the members of that strong firm of Moore and Marsh. W. M. Lowry was United States Marshal for East Tennessee under Pierce and Buchanan. Mr. Triplett, of the Thomasville press, was one of these valuable East Tennesseans. Major Wallace had been President of the East Tennessee and Georgia railroad. He had performed wonders of service during the war in moving Confederate troops and supplies. After the war he was made superintendent of the Western and Atlantic railroad in 1866, by Gov. Jenkins, and did a rare work in restoring that ruined railway. He managed the road during Ruger's and Meade's régimes, and resigned when Bullock was elected Governor. He is now President of the Merchants' Bank, and was tendered, unsolicited, a place as Railroad Commissioner. To an unusually strong common sense, Major Wallace adds a fine humor, a perennial amiability, tireless energy, an unbending positiveness and high Executive capacity.

Col. Samuel Barnett is a gentleman of a hearty turn for statistics and scientific investigation, and an unwearied power of clear-cut, vivid writing, who has tackled the stupendous and inexhaustible subject of railroad facts and figures with the keen relish of an







Truly Your Friend  
Campbell Wallace  
✍



enthusiast. The only apprehension is, that he will give us a railway literature as voluminous as our Supreme Court decisions. The commission has a congenial and efficient clerk in Maj. R. A. Bacon. The Commissioners have handled the big subject boldly, cutting down and making uniform rates and fares. The Savannah, Florida and Western Railroad, the old Atlantic and Gulf Railroad, under that strong and rising young lawyer, Judge Walter S. Chisholm, of Savannah, made a vigorous effort, in the United States Court, to strike down the commission, but the court sustained it unqualifiedly. An attempt is being made, under the lead of ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown, to get the present Legislature to restrict the autocratic powers of the commission. The endeavor is being stoutly resisted. The success remains to be seen, but however it results, there is the prospect of an endless agitation of the matter, superinduced by the inevitable rebelliousness of so vast a body of strong capital over its arbitrary regulation by a power, not directly interested in its profitable management.

It is doubtful if Gov. Colquitt would have permitted the use of his name for a second term as Governor, but for the unrelenting and rancorous onslaught upon him. The Convention had cut the term from four to two years, and the salary from \$4,000 to \$3,000 a year. His private affairs needed his attention, while the salary did not pay the expenses of the station. But the assaults upon him had been so fierce and rankly unjust that it was but a question of self-respect to submit the issues of his administration to the popular judgment, and he determined to do so. The result was the most bitter political battle, the longest campaign and the most crushing personal victory, that have ever happened in the State's history. For nearly six long months did the extraordinary conflict rage, with a gathering heat every week and month. The battle became violent beyond description, and yet, strange to say, there was not in it a single direct, legitimate political question. It was all personal, and in its ultimate analysis, involved several very large moral and social considerations and a sentimental matter of national effect. The distant and philosophical reader of the extraordinary incidents and phases of this roaring and flaming contest will wonder at its desperation, brutality and causelessness.

Georgia has had some memorable political conflicts. The Troup and Clarke flurry from 1823 to 1827, was warm enough as far as it went. The Colquitt, Cooper and Black storm in 1840 stirred things up. But the anti-Colquitt campaign of 1880 was such a tornado of violence as to make all previous disturbances mere child's play. And its interest



does not diminish from the fact that it was not a political issue, but a moral and religious civilization that stood at stake. Gov. Colquitt was the exponent and champion of temperance, religion and sectional fraternity. He embodied in his life, virtue and Christianity. He represented a great question of a kinder practical accord between the races. Every exalted moral and social mission was enthroned in the candidacy of this gentleman. And it was a vital feature of the stern battle that Gov. Colquitt, under the strong inspiration of his Christian qualities, was immovably fixed in the homes and hearts of the popular masses. He was rooted in the public heart, and no violence could tear him from his hold.

This indissoluble clasp of the people's esteem must ever stand one of the marvels of this raging affair. For months every species of detraction and besmirchment was poured upon Gov. Colquitt. It was bred in a thousand protean forms, damaging enough, if true, to have damned his character, and killed forever the public confidence. If a tithe of what was charged had been the truth, Gov. Colquitt would have been deservedly an outcast. Yet all this deafening crusade of defamation fell impotent upon the great, moral public thought, and when the day of verdict came, the people, with a resistless force, crushed out of existence the numberless brood of black criminations, spawned in this furious struggle.

And it was the most inexplicable feature of all of this extraordinary battle of slander, that there was a stubborn iteration of disproven scandals. The North-eastern bond calumny had been stamped out by the General Assembly, but it was rung and re-rung with unwearied persistence, just as if it had never been tried and shattered. So with other aspersions. But the clear-seeing, undeludable masses, with a cool poise held unshaken amid the boisterous fury of malice to their faith in the Christian Governor, who had the novel experience of a martyr's ordeal in the exigencies of a political strife.

There were two phases of this stirring campaign, the contest for the nomination, and then the fiercer struggle for the election. Usually the nomination in Democratic Georgia ends the tussle. In this campaign the nomination was simply the hot preface to a hotter sequence. It merely begun the battle well, and intensified its animosities.

The candidates for the nomination were five, viz., Gov. Colquitt, Hon. Thomas Hardeman of Macon, Hon. Rufus E. Lester of Savannah, Gen. Lucius J. Gartrell of Atlanta, and Chief Justice Hiram Warner of the Supreme Bench. These distinguished gentlemen have all been







GEN. LUCIUS J. GARTRELL.



sketched in this volume. Hardeman and Lester proved to be the next in strength to the Governor. Lester had some strong geographical considerations to aid his candidacy, Savannah not having had an Executive in a long time. Lester's campaign was finely organized and managed. It had some intelligent and masterly direction, and was shaped with method and strategy. His strong counties were captured early, to give him a boom. The ultimate issue was the field against Colquitt, and the strongest man would gather and focalize the opposition. Lester refused to canvass, taking high grounds against it. But his friends organized consummately. He labored under one disadvantage—one not seen at the surface, yet a substantial difficulty. His co-operation at home was not unstinted. He was a new man in that old place—a recent acquisition to its aristocratic ranks. A community like Savannah is wedded to its antecedents, and its blood. Lester was bright and popular, but there were older men and older citizens that the people, under their strong ideas of family reverence, would have selected as a representative of the city for gubernatorial honors. That the bold ambitious young statesman should have shoved aside the older material was a disability for him, so far as home backing was concerned.

Gen. Gartrell had no organization, and made no systematic campaign. He had strong friends in various parts of the State, and a large backing by the press. He had been before and since the war an ardent and effective political worker. He was prominent very early in his manhood, and as Legislator, Congressman and Confederate Colonel and General, he had sustained himself ably. He was the author of the celebrated "Southern Right's Resolutions" of the legislature of 1849; he met Cobb, Toombs and the Stephens brothers on the stump in the great Union fight of 1850; he canvassed the fourth Congressional District in 1855 against Know-Nothingism, for Hiram Warner against Ben Hill; he was the Buchanan and Breckenridge elector in 1846, and canvassed the State; he went to Congress in 1857 and 1859 from the Fourth District, by large and growing majorities. His Congressional record was very bright; he was on important committees and made some notable speeches. He was Regent of the Smithsonian Institute. His career in the Confederate Congress was valuable. He held the high position of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. As a Confederate officer he ranked high, and did excellent service. Since the war he has been one of the leaders of the Atlanta bar, an able lawyer and an eloquent advocate.

Judge Warner had been all his life grazing at the Governorship. This was his last chance, necessarily, in the course of advancing years.



He soon became convinced that Gov. Colquitt was the strongest man in the field, and with that grim frankness that belonged to him, he so told one of the other candidates. He left his canvass to take care of itself. The trouble with Col. Hardeman was that his friends were Gov. Colquitt's friends, mainly. No man in the State had been a more zealous and disinterested party-worker. His strong abilities and ready eloquence could be counted on at any time in any party stress. He had a cheery, stimulating way with the people, and was a valuable and willing worker in any cause of a public character. He was always a generous antagonist, just, courteous, fair and honorable, scorning any underhanded advantage, and dealing none but legitimate blows. Such men as this candid and lofty gentleman make politics honorable, and elevate public agitations. The truth is that "Tom Hardeman," as he is familiarly called, is the type of truth, directness and fidelity, and has been a true representative of our best Georgia manhood. And he never made a poor or uninteresting speech in his life. Gov. Colquitt, Gen. Gartrell and Col. Hardeman all made campaign addresses.

In May, 1880, occurred an event that enlivened the campaign, something like the effect that the explosion of a powder magazine would have in a fortification. There has never been an incident in our political history that created a more sudden and uncontrollable fury of the political elements. It shook the State from center to circumference. Things were comparatively quiet. The swift storm that ensued was blinding and ferocious. It was for a while like a raging cyclone—it blew men's wits off their feet, so to speak. Gov. Colquitt thought he had been pretty heavily abused before this. He received a gust of thundering public vituperation that nearly took his breath away. The event that had such an overwhelming effect was, that Gen. John B. Gordon resigned his place as United States Senator from Georgia, to which he had been so recently elected, and Gov. Colquitt appointed in the vacancy ex-Gov. Joseph E. Brown.

The relations between Gov. Colquitt and ex-Gov. Brown had been very friendly. Between Gen. Gordon and Gov. Brown there existed, perhaps, a less cordial intercourse than among ordinary acquaintances, due to an assault of the latter on Gen. Gordon about his course as a Senator in the Presidential matter. There was, therefore, a cordial good feeling between Colquitt and Brown, and an absence of the same between Brown and Gordon, and yet a charge of "bargain" was instantly formulated by the opposition, based upon the very opposite of these relations, involving acts of kindness and benefit done by





Brown for Gordon to win Brown's support for Colquitt. The State rang with the calumny of an understanding between the three, which made Gordon give up his seat that Brown might be appointed in his place, Gordon to get railroad favors from Brown, including the Presidency of the State road, and Brown to help Colquitt politically. The circumstantiality with which this incredible fiction was urged was something wonderful. With a fierce passion but a severe logic, apparently, sensible men and honest journals argued this monstrous aspersion upon three of the purest, ablest, best tried and most trusted public men of the State. Intelligent and conscientious men believed it, though there never was a piece of popular injustice that had less basis of fact. Against life-time honor and integrity, against thrice tested character, against illustrious public service, against reason and probability, the swift, hot, unreasoning charge of the darkest personal dishonor and official criminality was blazoned against these gentlemen.

The incident illustrates how rancorous can be political hostility. The lives of these men was a standing disproof of such reproach. Gen. Gordon had made an illustrious fame as a soldier and Confederate General. For seven years he had illustrated Georgia most magnificently as a United States Senator. His career in the national councils had been conspicuously able and influential. His first speech in the United States Senate was upon the great financial question of the day. It made a profound impression upon the whole country. Senator Morton pronounced it the ablest effort made on the subject. The Agricultural Convention which assembled in Georgia soon after its delivery unanimously adopted a vote of thanks to Senator Gordon for it. The *New York Times*, a Republican paper, while criticising the speaker and differing with him, used this language: "Gen. Gordon is the ablest man from the South in either House of Congress." This was very high praise from an opposition paper.

Senator Gordon's next effort, which attracted most attention, was the defense of the South in the debate with Morton and Edmunds. The approval of our people was universal, while even the Northern press passed upon it the highest encomiums. It was the first time anything like an elaborate vindication of the South had been made by a Southern man. Every effort was made by Morton, Edmunds, Conkling and others, to provoke Gen. Gordon into imprudent utterances; but the friends of the eloquent Senator and of the South all over the country thought that the whole of our case was managed with tact, skill and ability by him in that memorable debate.



Perhaps the next most striking fact in Gen. Gordon's senatorial career was his bill and speech intended to secure reform in the civil service of the country, and especially in the Revenue Department, the central idea of which was the separation of the revenue from party politics. Some conception of the impression made upon the whole country may be obtained from the commentary of the press. The Republican and Independent papers of the North were forced to commend the views of our distinguished young statesman. The Springfield *Republican* declared of this measure of Gordon that it was "the first notable demonstration in the direction of civil service reform from high Democratic authority," and warmly endorsed it. The Chicago *Times* said editorially, "There never has been brought to the attention of Congress a proposition of civil service reform so practical and thorough as that which Mr. Gordon had indicated. It is, in truth, the only suggestion of a practical remedy for the all-pervading official corruption that has ever been brought to the attention of Congress." The Boston *Advertiser*, New York *Herald*, New York *Tribune*, New York *Post* and Chicago *Tribune*, all of which were among the leading papers of the United States, strongly endorsed and commended the effort. The New York *World* pronounced the speech "impassioned, able, eloquent, logical and impartial." There is little doubt that Senator Gordon would have succeeded in engrafting some such policy upon the administration of our revenue, had he have remained in public life, for the country was with him upon it.

These are some of the great occasions, when Gen. Gordon arose to the full stature of a Senator, handling vast themes of public policy, originally, eloquently, and with unquestionable statesmanship. He was able to impress himself upon the critical thought of a great nation. Not only in these large matters, but in every possible phase of private and public service, he bore himself with the duty and dignity befitting his high trust. He wielded a powerful influence among his colleagues and in the Departments, and he won from the masses of the broad country the fame due to an acknowledged public leader, whose exalted individuality gave an added renown to the great commonwealth he so well represented.

And this was the official who, at the beginning of a second term of six years of his most dazzling distinction, laid it down to attend to his private affairs, sadly neglected. And this was the official whose almost unprecedented renunciation of an august responsibility was charged to be the subject of a corrupt personal bargain. In the light of subse-



quent developments, the monstrosity of such a charge is so overwhelmingly demonstrated as to excite amazement that it ever had an existence. Public meetings in Columbus and Pike county denounced Gov. Colquitt, Gen. Gordon and ex-Gov. Brown. The cry of "Trade!" rang over the State. The severity of denunciation of these distinguished and honored Georgians was something phenomenal. "Base and treacherous conduct," "a stench in the nostrils of honest men," "Senatorial deformity," "slimy pits of dishonor and degradation," "eternal infamy," and a thousand similar phrases, were showered upon them. The issue was made clear, sharp and savage, and it was met with a gameful readiness that betokened what resulted, that the people had to settle the stirring question.

The facts were very few and simple. Senator Gordon had long wanted to get out of public life, to build up his private fortunes. He was offered a valuable chance in Oregon. He tendered his resignation. Gov. Colquitt tried to get him to withhold until the session of Congress ended, which would be in a few weeks. He had to utilize his business opportunity, and declined to postpone his resignation. Gov. Colquitt, upon his own inspiration, sent for Gov. Brown and tendered him the place unconditionally. And this was all of the bargain—no collusion, no conditions—no trading. The presidency of the State Road was not resigned by Gov. Brown and given to Gen. Gordon. Gov. Brown knew nothing of Gen. Gordon's resignation until the appointment was tendered him. Gen. Gordon knew nothing of Gov. Brown's appointment until it was made. Gov. Brown was already a supporter of Gov. Colquitt for Governor, and therefore there was no inducement to win his championship. Mr. Newcomb, the president of the Louisville and Nashville railroad, after Gordon's determination to accept the Oregon offer and to resign, offered Gordon a business proposition that allowed him to stay in Georgia; which he accepted, getting released from his other contract. With this Gov. Brown had nothing to do. And since then, Gen. Gordon has succeeded in organizing and starting the construction of a great line of railway from Atlanta to the Mississippi, through the coal fields of Alabama, utilizing the defunct Georgia Western railroad, and connecting with the Richmond and Atlanta Railway scheme, independent of the State road, or the Louisville and Nashville road.

Thus one by one of the specifications in the fierce charge of "Bargain" have been disproved by that unfailing healer of injustice, *Time*, and its inevitable co-worker, *Truth*. The storm, like all storms, did

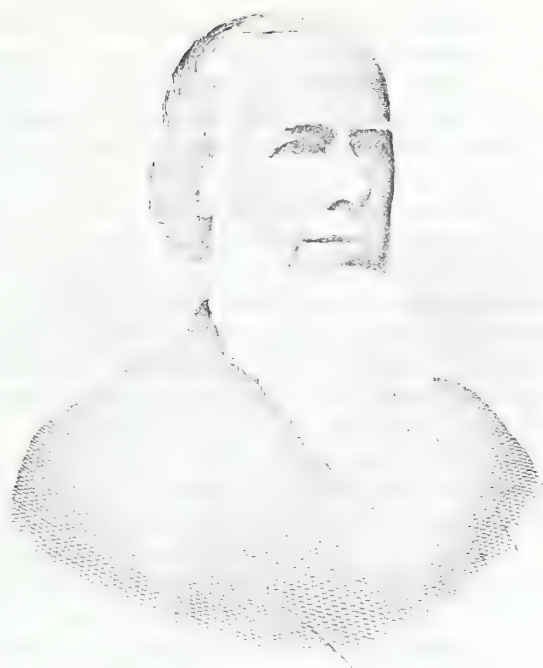




good. The right was vindicated after much travail. It was a deadly struggle, but a marvelous victory. The final result was beneficial to the State and to the country. Gen. Gordon came home, and in a masterly and eloquent speech in Atlanta, thus stated the motives governing Gov. Colquitt in this appointment:

"Let us place ourselves in Gov. Colquitt's place, and laying aside all passion, see what our cool judgment would dictate. [Laughter and applause.] Let me premise what I am about to say by the remark that while, as a matter of sentiment, most of us would have preferred some other Georgian, yet there are thousands in and out of the State who are beginning to agree with that greatest of living generals, Joseph E. Johnston, that Joseph E. Brown was the very best selection that could have been made under all the circumstances surrounding our present and the momentous issues involved in our political contests for the future. There are great men and true men now in high places of responsibility, who believe that the time had come in the South when the integrity of our society, the security of our property, and the supremacy of our political principles require that we should so liberalize our policy as to extend the olive branch to all men now in accord with our principles, although they had differed from us in the transition stage succeeding the war as to the public policy. They saw in Gov. Brown the most distinguished representative of that class of citizens in the entire South. They saw in him a man of intellect, of long experience, of distinguished services in the ante-bellum history of the State. A man of large property, deeply interested in the material progress of the country and in stable government—a life-long Democrat, who, although denounced by us for voting for Grant and reconstruction in 1868, was joined by us in voting for Greeley and reconstruction in 1872. [Applause.] This is, I say, what other men, able and true, saw in this appointment. What did Gov. Colquitt see to guide him to a conclusion which his enemies now seek to use to his detriment. If he will permit, I will publish his letter informing me of Gov. Brown's appointment, and of the results he expected to be produced upon himself, the party, and the country. He saw the two strongest Democratic districts in the State lost to the Democratic party. He saw in a third, the same fate seriously threatened. He saw in a fourth, Hammond, able and eloquent, elected after a most laborious struggle. He saw the party upon whose supremacy seems to depend all that is valuable to us as a people, apparently on the verge of dissolution. He saw the friends and life-long followers of Gov. Brown among the hardy yeomanry of the mountains, dissatisfied and ready to break with the organization; and he felt that he might thus recall them to their allegiance, recapture these Democratic strongholds, harmonize former differences, assuage bitterness, and assure the future of Democratic supremacy. I wish to repeat here that everybody knows that I am not the champion of Gov. Brown, but it is due our manhood that we either cease hostility to Gov. Brown, or cease to ask his time and talents and money for the benefit of our party. It is due to truth to state that Gov. Brown has been unfaltering in his devotion to the Democratic party for ten or twelve years; that he was the supporter of Milton Smith, of Alfred Colquitt and of myself in my last race for the Senate, even against his life-long friend—that upright jurist, and great statesman, Herschell V. Johnson. It would be unworthy in me were I to fail, in this public manner, to testify to the earnest, unswerving, potential aid given in the last campaigns to myself and to the standard-bearers of the party in these hotly contested mountain districts. [Applause.] In thus speaking at some length upon the purposes of Gov. Colquitt in making this





Joseph E. Brown



appointment, I have done him nothing but simple justice. If I know myself I speak in the cause of truth, of harmony, of Democratic unity. [Applause.] One thing is certain, that while others high in position were apologizing for, or defending Grant, while he drove the cold iron into the breast of Louisiana, Gov. Brown was denouncing this act of tyranny." [Applause and cries of that's so.]

For Gov. Brown, the unsolicited tender of this peculiar trust was an event of unspeakable import and most dramatic connection. It recalled the grim memories of that painful experience of twelve years back, in 1868, when the people of his State stood solidly against him, and he was defeated for this very office, under such pitiless public execration as few men ever experience and fewer outlive. It looked then as if he was forever buried, politically. He went down in the mad savagery of that time, a recipient of as noble a resentment, though unjust, as any people ever exercised. He had lived to see the subsidence of passion, and the abatement of obloquy. He had steadily cured the misconceptions of his course, coming with a wonderful elasticity above the cruel repression and odium that struck him down. And the redemption had at last, after many a weary delay, arrived, but was not, even with this appointment, complete. This was the act of the Governor. It failed of the requisite finish unless rounded off by the popular endorsement. There was much speculation as to whether Senator Brown would seek an election at the hands of the legislature, his appointment only running to the session of that body in the winter of 1880.

There is, perhaps, no earthly inducement that could have withheld Joseph E. Brown from that test of the public pulse. The opposition made the appointment an issue, and the leading issue of the gubernatorial campaign. But if this had not been done, he would have fashioned it so. Every prompting of his pride and memory, every impulse of his nature, every tingling nerve of his combative temperament drove him irresistibly to a naked trial of this single question by the majestic inquest of the popular suffrage. His friends led off in suggesting that the approval of the Brown appointment be directly canvassed and voted upon.

It was a very strong triumvirate of influences, capabilities and management, this union of Colquitt, Gordon and Brown. Each one of them was powerful, and had shown himself pretty nearly invincible, each achieving victories single-handed that recorded marvels of majorities. Each one could point to personal triumphs that were out of the range and scope of ordinary political success. The alliance of the three in a battle where their coalition was intensified by a reciprocal interest and





a common defamation of their conduct, was the junction of the most ponderous agencies of our Georgia leadership. And as well equipped managers as they each were, each found valuable aid in the others. Gov. Colquitt's enemies have decried his abilities and decision. No one could look at his firm set mouth, and not read there an uncommon reserve of will. It comes to him by inheritance. His life, critically dissected, has shown it strikingly. And as for management, his father, Walter T. Colquitt, was the very incarnation of the sagacious and invincible manager, and transmitted it to his diplomatic son. Under that gentle grace and hearty simplicity Gov. Colquitt carries as practical a sense, as rare a tact, as broad a scope of plan, as nice a discernment of agents, as resolute a persistence, as astute a retention of his own secrets, and as true a fidelity to his friends, as any man in the State. And to these subtle qualities he adds an effective magnetism in impressing and swaying masses of men, and an exceptional prudence of expression that leaves him no indiscretions to correct.

Ex-Gov. Brown has been an unequalled conductor of political campaigns, and brought to this strong junction of force his superlative and disciplined capacities. Gen. Gordon has been a lordly campaigner, going direct to the popular heart with his chivalrous *esprit*, bold, direct, lofty and gallant. There has always been something in this gentleman to make men love, admire and trust him, an unfailing glow of generous sentiment, a manly self-respect, and a vigorous, healthy intellectuality. His ideas are all liberal and large, his impulses knightly, his nature attractive, and his bearing princely. Never a foeman, unless under attack, he is always an open-handed, magnanimous opponent. And every fiber of his soul is loyal to friendship and the popular good. It was a strong trio, and when the struggle came, an irresistible coalition.

It was no slight benefit in the campaign that the anticipation of Senator Brown's service in the few weeks' session of the United States Senate was realized, and was an example of instantaneous and potential influence. In a body where large-brained and distinguished men go through a long probation and apprenticeship of quiet and initiation, Gov. Brown took immediate rank as an acknowledged leader. The tuition of years in this august parliament he mastered immediately. He gained the ear of the body at once, and his voice was heeded. He was sworn in on the 26th of May, 1880, and Congress adjourned on the 16th of June, giving him three weeks' service only. In that short time he secured a \$10,000 appropriation for the harbor of Brunswick against the report of the appropriation committee, and came near increasing



the appropriation to the Savannah river from \$65,000 to \$100,000. He passed a bill to allow the Savannah, Florida, and Western railroad to build a bridge over the St. Mary's river, which is now being used. He discovered and defeated a provision in the census bill that would have lost Georgia a representative in the United States Congress. This provision provided that enumerators should report a list of all males over twenty-one years disqualified from voting, and such number be deducted from the inhabitants of the State in making up its basis of representation. On account of the voters in Georgia disqualified for non-payment of taxes, this would have lost Georgia twenty or thirty thousand votes in estimating our representation in Congress.

Senator Brown made three speeches in his strong, practical way, that attracted general attention, that placed him among the recognized leaders of the Senate, and carried to Georgia a substantial basis for popular sanction of his appointment. In urging increased appropriations for our State harbors, he put so clearly our claims to greater liberality that Senators Thurman, Bayard, Davis, Blaine and Vance complimented him. Senator Blaine raised quite a laugh by saying "he never heard so fine a speech from so young a Senator." It was in the speech, however, delivered on the 12th of June, 1880, upon the Mexican Pension bill, that Gov. Brown made a profound impression upon the country, and instantly stamped himself as a master of debate, an original thinker and a positive actor in the national councils, able to cope with any of the practiced powers of that august body, and to place his people in sharp advantage upon the delicate questions of the war. An amendment was offered to strike Southern soldiers who had participated in the last war from the benefits of a pension for service in the Indian and Mexican wars. Gov. Brown strenuously opposed this exclusion of Southern soldiers. Senators Ingalls, Conkling, Kirkwood and Blaine kept a running fire upon him, injecting adroitly into the discussion the disunion and war issues.

Gov. Brown's speech was a master-piece of diplomacy and argument. He took occasion from the interruptions to go into the whole subject of Southern sentiment upon war questions, and without an imprudent word, he completely turned the tables upon his sharp questioners, and struck the "Bloody Shirt" policy, as it was felicitously called, of keeping up war prejudices, the deadliest blow it has received. His temper was perfect, his readiness unflinching, and his retorts irresistible. He made every stroke cut. His acceptance of reconstruction was used happily. The galleries were crowded, and the ablest men of the other side,



the recognized experts of debate and the keenest wits of the Republican party were using every effort to trip the new Senator. They came at him from every quarter and struck him vigorously. Parrying every lunge, cool, poised and prompt, he met every attack successfully, and followed his adversary to an undeniable discomfiture. He evaded nothing. Senator Ingalls asked him if he did n't think now he was right in defending secession. Gov. Brown shot back the affirmative instantaneously, but added that secession was not a living issue, and had been settled forever by the war.

He drew with the nicest discrimination the difference between the questions decided by the revolution and our living rights. He thus admirably concluded:

"When we returned to the Union, we did so in good faith. The question of the right of secession is settled forever, and with its settlement our faith is pledged to stand by and defend the Constitution and the Union. In the field you found the Southern armies to be brave men, and brave men are never treacherous. Should our relations with foreign powers at any time involve this Government in war, the people of the North will have no reason to complain of the promptness, earnestness and gallantry with which the people of the Southern States will rally around the old flag, and bear it triumphantly wherever duty calls. If that emergency were now upon us, the comrades in arms of Sherman and Johnston, who once confronted each other with such distinguished heroism, would rally together in the cause of the Union, and vying with each other, would perform such prodigies of valor as the world has seldom witnessed. This being the present condition of the country, the present feeling of the great masses of people on each side, let us do justice to each other, restore cordial and fraternal relations, and folding up the bloody shirt, let us bury it forever beyond the reach of resurrection; and let us unite in the enactment of such laws as will show to the world that we are once more, not in name only, but in reality, a united people, ready to do equal and exact justice to all. And let us move forward gradually and gloriously in united efforts to restore to every section of the Union substantial, growing, material prosperity; and we will then bring to the whole country peace, happiness and fraternal relations. This seems to me to be a consummation devoutly to be wished by the patriotic people of all parts of the Union.

There was a universal acknowledgment that the new Senator had fulfilled the great expectation of his value in the National councils, and the issue of his appointment had to be met upon that vantage ground. But there was one strong complication in this animated contest, that exerted a powerful underlying influence. How many distinguished gentlemen had hard feelings against the Governor for not being selected for this distinction, will never be known. Men who had passed beyond active life, immemorial friends of the Executive, men on the political shelf, and individuals who had no shadow of claim upon him, were dis-



appointed, and added their hidden dissatisfaction to the gathering crusade of hostility in this remarkable contest. There was a focalization of hostile elements for a thunderous storm, and it exploded with a stirring effect.

This crusade against Gov. Colquitt was the aggregation of every political disappointment, every soured ambition, every personal grievance connected with the Democratic party, every partisan pique, every irritated sensibility of private malice, every envenomed spite of a public nature, every restless dissatisfaction with existing politics, and every strong yearning of hope from new combinations of party and personal elements. It was homogeneous in the one common purpose to overthrow the existing and establish a new dynasty.





## CHAPTER XLIX.

### GOVERNOR COLQUITT RECOMMENDED FOR GOVERNOR BY THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY AND EXCITING PO- LITICAL CONVENTION OF GEORGIA ANNALS.

The Convention to select Presidential Delegates.—The Fiery Campaign before the Gubernatorial Convention.—Colquitt's Atlanta Managers.—Henry W. Grady the Chief.—E. P. Howell.—The City Papers.—Hardeman, Gartrell, Lester and Warner.—A Fierce Crusade of Calumny against Colquitt.—A Savage Contest.—Gordon and Colquitt.—Amusing Conflict of Estimated Strength of the Candidates.—The Two Thirds Rule.—The Convention.—Its Personelle.—The Colquitt Caucus.—Gov. Brown's Advice.—The Fine Leadership of Patrick Walsh.—Concessions of the Majority.—L. N. Trammell Permanent President.—His Brilliant Presiding.—Almost Two Thirds for Colquitt.—A Wily and Implacable Minority.—Any body but Colquitt.—Seven Long Days of Stirring Session.—Majority Indiscretion.—The Two Thirds Rule Adopted.—The Fight over the Rules.—Gag-Law Discussed.—Clifford Anderson.—Dr. Henry Carlton's Compromise.—Hot Scene over it.—Ring-ing Speech of Patrick Walsh.—“We will Nominate Colquitt.”—Thomas D. Wat-son's Burning Speech.—Joe Warren.—All the Compromises Rule out Colquitt.—Livingston of Newton.—Gen. Imboden.—Break in the Colquitt Ranks.—W. A. Reid Suggests Thomas G. Lawson.—Joe Warren's Ambuscade.—Colquitt's Men Stand Solid.—A Sparkling Debate.—S. G. McLendon Drops Colquitt.—R. W. Pat-terson's Brilliant Speech.—The Majority Rock-firm.—Final Resolutions to Recom-mend Colquitt after Three Ballots.—The Minority Ask Time.—A Recess.—The Minority Disintegrating.—On the Final Ballot Colquitt Gains, but no Nomination, and his Recommendation goes into Effect.—Electoral Candidates Chosen.—State House Officers Nominated.—Delegates on Final Adjournment begin Coming to Colquitt.—Carlton and Norwood Raise Points of Order, and stop the Change of Votes.—Adjournment of Convention.

THE Democratic State convention that met in Atlanta, on the 9th of June, 1880, to appoint delegates to the Cincinnati convention, was the first State gathering after the resignation of Gordon, and the appoint-ment of Brown. A majority of the members were for Colquitt, and this fact demonstrated the popular sentiment. Hon. L. N. Trammell was made temporary, and Hon. A. O. Bacon permanent Chairman of the Convention. There were 350 delegates from 119 counties. The delegates selected for the National Convention were : at large, Gen. A. R. Lawton, Hon. Geo. T. Barnes, Hon. E. P. Howell and Gen. P. M. B. Young ; District, W. A. Wilkins, J. M. Couper, J. R. Alexander,



B. E. Russell, L. M. Felton, D. M. Roberts, T. W. Grimes, P. H. Brewster, J. D. Stewart, C. C. Duncan, J. G. Ockington, A. C. McCalla, J. C. Fain, A. H. Gray, D. M. Du Bose, P. Walsh, W. P. Price, T. M. Peeples.

Gen. A. R. Lawton was made chairman of the delegation at Cincinnati. Hancock and English were nominated as the Democratic ticket for President and Vice-President, creating great enthusiasm in Democratic Georgia. The main interest of our people in this State, however, clustered around the gubernatorial race, and it intensified to a white heat. An organization of Gov. Colquitt's friends was made in Atlanta—a very thorough, strong and vigorous body. The leaders in it were an incomparable collection of bold managing young spirits, keen-witted, indefatigable, resourceful and aggressive. Henry W. Grady, as chairman of the campaign committee, is entitled to the leadership, though Evan P. Howell, William T. Newman, S. M. Inman and W. D. Ellis were not far behind him in their contributions. All of these long-headed young fellows buckled to the contest with a wonderful energy and tact. Howell was perhaps the most experienced of them, but Grady's enthusiasm was irresistible, and he finally took the undisputed command, and he manifested an executive capacity that was extraordinary. He threw himself into the struggle with his whole heart. He watched every point, kept the whole State in his observation, devised means, wrote letters, sent myriads of dispatches, strengthened doubtful localities, and placed help wherever it was needed.

The managers of the large dailies, the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Augusta Chronicle and Constitutionalist*, *Savannah News*, and *Macon Telegraph and Messenger* were personally for Gov. Colquitt, though the journals were held neutral until the convention. The *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, *Atlanta Post* and *Augusta News* strenuously opposed him. The large majority of the press favored Gov. Colquitt. The struggle for control of the convention was ferociously acrimonious, and settled into Colquitt and anti-Colquitt, it soon being discovered that he was stronger than the whole field together. Hardeman and Gartrell made speeches, fair, unexceptionable and effective, abstaining from any personal discourtesy, and discussing Gov. Colquitt's official record legitimately. Lester and Warner did no speaking. The auxiliary speakers and press against the Governor, however, kept up a lively fusillade. The savage character of the campaign against Gov. Colquitt was outside of the opposing candidates, and was difficult to understand. Somehow this gentleman has never been on good terms with the professional



politicians. His strength has been with the quiet, undemonstrative masses, who take little active interest in politics, unless aroused by some unusual inducement. The country wire workers have always antagonized him. The noisy element of the cities has been against him. The bar-rooms and their frequenters have fought him. His wonderful hold upon the people has excited the envy of the leading public men with some exceptions. The inability to use him has made him odious to the average partisan. His impregnable morality and identification with temperance, virtue and religion, have been a standing rebuke to the vicious and immoral. The bitter opposition that was aggregated against this godly gentleman, was something marvelous, and the resulting warfare was unparalleled in its fierceness, persistence and malignity.

Every invention of calumny was evoked against Gov. Colquitt. His Democratic fealty was assailed, his ability denied, his personal honesty questioned, and his religion travestied. The opposition press teemed with charges against him of every kind, affecting his moral and religious character. Corruption was asserted against him in both personal and official matters. Every act of his administration was attacked and falsified. And in the noise following the Brown appointment, it looked as if the whole State was down upon the Governor. But it was a large mistake. The sluggish masses of good men began to take an interest. Slowly the reserves came into action, and under the steady advance of an awakened people the opposition disclosed its real weakness. Such an arousalment of the State has not been seen in a century in Georgia. Men who had never taken any active part in politics came to the front as leaders. Old church deacons who had hitherto pursued a serene course of passivity in the turbulent turmoil of political strife, turned out zealously in the cause of morality and religion, imperiled in its cherished exponent. Usually few men turn out to nominations. The popular voting is reserved for elections. That contest for a nomination had all the intense interest of an election. The ordinary political managers in counties were aghast to see the people taking the authority from their hands. Tricks and tickets were set at naught. Town cliques, usually omnipotent, were brushed aside like cobwebs, and their manipulations punctured like empty bubbles. In Richmond county over 2,000 votes were polled. In numbers of counties a thousand men turned out to select nominating delegates. Such a primary expression of the voice of the people had never before been given in the political annals of the State. And it was almost a continuous thunder tone of endorsement for the slandered Colquitt.





In the middle of the fight a new and frightful aspersion was shot upon the air just when a majority of the important counties were to act. It was the last and reserved fire of the calumniators. It made Colquitt more votes. The people, thoroughly aroused, rolled up increased majorities for the gameful Colquitt. The speeches made by Colquitt and Gordon were stirring and effective pieces of hustings oratory. They were invited to all parts of the State. Immense gatherings met them wherever they were announced. Both are strikingly handsome men, both possessed of magnetic personal presence, both captivating public speakers, both individuals of exalted Christian piety, and both had been successful and brilliant soldiers. The victories in some of the counties were extraordinary, and the enthusiasm they created was unbounded. In the powerful county of Burke, where Lester was born, the toughest struggle of the campaign resulted in a solid delegation for Colquitt. The wealthy and influential county of Houston, one of Hardeman's strongholds, chose a fervent Colquitt delegation. Even Merriwether county, the life-long home of the venerable Judge Warner, gave a majority of district delegates for Colquitt for a county convention to select State delegates. The Warner men appointed delegates, and there resulted a contest in the State Convention. The victory for Colquitt in Merriwether was not a beneficial one in results. It very much displeased Judge Warner, and begat in him a stern opposition that he pushed in no half-handed way. It is due to truth, however, to say that amid all the vilification of Governor Colquitt, he never spoke a word of abuse against his rivals. He went steadily forward in firm reliance upon his own merits, uttering no detraction of others.

It was very amusing to see how widely apart the strength of the candidates was put by the opposing papers. The *Constitution* of Atlanta, whose information had been culled and sifted with vigilant care, and that had the benefit of all of Gov. Colquitt's comprehensive and accurate correspondence, gave Colquitt  $224\frac{1}{2}$  votes out of the 350 votes in the Convention, or within nine of a two-thirds majority. When 320 delegates had been chosen, the *Constitution* gave Colquitt  $203\frac{1}{2}$ , Hardeman 44, Lester  $38\frac{1}{2}$ , Gartrell  $16\frac{1}{2}$ , Warner 3, Doubtful 7, anti-Colquitt  $7\frac{1}{2}$ . The *Atlanta Post-Appeal* divided 308 votes as follows: Colquitt  $143\frac{1}{2}$ , Lester  $72\frac{1}{2}$ , Hardeman 42, Gartrell 29, Warner 7, Underwood 2, anti-Colquitt 18. The *Macon Telegraph and Messenger* estimated 318 votes as follows: Colquitt  $189\frac{1}{2}$ , Hardeman  $54\frac{1}{2}$ , Lester 42, Gartrell  $16\frac{1}{2}$ , anti-Colquitt and Doubtful  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , but gave Colquitt 215 votes for the



first ballot. A bare majority was 176. The Anti-Colquitt papers estimated Colquitt's vote under a majority. Both sides claimed to be unerringly correct.

A question that excited much feeling and speculation, was whether the convention should adopt the two-thirds rule. The majority rule would give the nomination to Colquitt. The old usage of the Democracy had been the two-thirds rule in National Conventions. This rule was adopted in the Democratic Conventions from 1843 to 1857, in the Convention that nominated Gov. Brown. In December, 1871, Gov. Smith was nominated under the majority rule. The Convention of 1872, that renominated Gov. Smith, adopted the same rule. The Convention of 1876 used no rule in the nomination of Gov. Colquitt.

The Convention met in Atlanta, on Wednesday, the 4th day of August, 1880, at half past two o'clock. The delegates assembled in the representative chamber, at eleven o'clock, but it was found that the large hall would not hold them, unless the desks were moved out, and the hour of meeting was postponed for this purpose. There were 549 delegates representing every county in the State, and 350 votes. There never has been in the history of Georgia, and there never probably will be such another Convention. During war days no such fever has been aroused. Gov. Colquitt's crushing sweep of county triumphs, and magnificent popular majority, had not subdued in the slightest extent the determined hostility of the opposition, but rather intensified it seemingly. The convocation of inflammable spirits came together primed for an irrepressible explosion, and the out-burst ensued inexorably.

Gov. Colquitt's friends met in caucus in the large Concordia Hall, Lester's adherents in the breakfast-room of the Kimball House, and Hardeman's supporters at the Markham House. Colquitt's caucus was like a convention and packed the large hall. It was an unwieldy gathering, but it somehow settled, by its own inspiration, into cohesiveness and accord of action. Caucus meetings were held nearly every evening, and the policy of the next day discussed and decided. And it was a curious demonstration of zeal and interest that these advisory gatherings continued to the last with full attendance. Several of them were a species of political "love-feast." The first and main subject of discussion was the two-thirds rule. There was a contrariety of opinion. Some very strong men, led by Hon. Patrick Walsh, were in favor of the majority rule. Gov. Brown advised the adoption of the two-thirds rule, and some of the Colquitt men would have no other. This subject



was ably discussed from every stand-point. Gov. Brown believed that enough delegates would, after a while, come from the opposition to give the two-thirds to Colquitt, if his friends stood firm. But if they did not, and it was necessary to go before the State with the Democracy split, because the minority refused to carry out the will of the majority, and the opposition party vote should become a balance of power, it would be easier to get that vote than if a regular majority nomination was made. One fact had to be confronted squarely, and that was, that the leaders of the minority had come to the convention to defeat Colquitt at any cost and in any way. His friends were equally resolved to carry him through.

The anti-Colquitt men boldly declared that, if the majority rule was adopted, which Colquitt's supporters could do, they would bolt the convention, and make a separate nomination. Under this rule Colquitt's nomination was a certainty. Under the two-thirds rule they hoped to prevent his nomination. Mr. Walsh saw the spirit of the opposition, and was for "taking the bull by the horns" and making the issue, leaving the minority to their remedy of acquiescence or the responsibility of disintegrating the party by disobedience to its action. Mr. Walsh developed in this whole session in caucus, and on the floor of the convention, the most salient and potential traits of leadership. When his sturdy, strong-set, firm-planted figure rose, his coat closely-buttoned, shoulders thrown back, his head poised solidly and unmoving on his stout neck, his determined, massive face gazing steadily forward, with his short, straight hair rolling back in a leonine way from the brow, and his resonant, compassing voice uttering with a singularly strong emphasis, his clear-cut, direct sentences, he was a striking embodiment of force and earnestness, and he held the eager attention of the vast body upon every ringing syllable. There was no deviousness in this superb Irishman's strategy. He was as direct as the course of a cannon ball. His individuality was the more impressive that he has nothing in him of the mercurial and flashing quality supposed to belong to his high-mettled nationality. His best power was his fine, intense repose and freedom from nervousness. Fearless, true, able, eloquent, earnest, devoted, immovable by menace or temptation, Mr. Walsh made more repute, stood upon higher ground and was more the target for the hostile fire of the opposition than any other member of this stormy and unprecedented convention.

Gov. Brown's view was adopted by a large majority in the caucus. Mr. Walsh was made temporary Chairman of the Convention, which





was opened by Judge Geo. N. Lester, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, in an eloquent little speech, earnestly urging party harmony. Mr. Walsh delivered a ringing address. Among the delegates who figured during the session were: A. L. Hawes, F. C. Furman, F. G. Du Bugnon, T. W. Akin, A. W. Fite, P. M. B. Young, Clifford Anderson, S. H. Jemison, R. W. Patterson, Samuel Hall, R. F. Lyon, J. L. Hardeman, E. R. Harden, E. F. Lawson, R. O. Lovett, J. P. Thomas, J. L. Warren, A. P. Adams, T. M. Norwood, H. H. Carlton, T. N. Rucker, P. W. Alexander, U. B. Wilkinson, L. H. Featherston, J. C. Nisbet, David A. Vason, R. Hobbs, J. R. Towers, Wm. T. Newman, W. M. Lowry, Walter R. Brown, G. W. Mabry, M. L. Mershon, W. R. Rankin, T. M. Peebles, Henry Perry, W. J. Northern, Geo. M. Nolan, John W. Glenn, J. W. Preston, W. P. Johnson, F. H. West, H. T. Hollis, Thos. E. Watson, J. R. Casey, W. R. Gignillatt, G. A. Cabaniss, W. Luffman, W. W. Giddens, S. E. Field, F. G. Wilkins, John King, J. M. Russell, L. F. Livingstone, James M. Smith, J. C. Nicholls, N. J. Tumlin, C. M. Bozeman, Geo. W. Jordan, W. A. Reid, W. M. Anderson, T. L. Guerri, R. H. May, J. V. H. Allen, P. L. Cohen, W. Daniel, P. Walsh, J. C. Dell, John D. Stewart, E. P. Speer, W. A. Hawkins, John A. Cobb, A. A. Carson, J. T. Willis, L. C. Hoyle, S. G. McLendon, H. W. Hopkins, F. M. Longley, A. D. Abrahams, F. B. Wimberly, C. J. Wellborn, W. H. Pileher, A. B. Purdom, D. B. Harrell, J. H. Nichols, F. H. Colley, L. N. Trammell, I. E. Shumate, J. A. W. Johnson, W. A. Harris.

There were contests from Clinch, Chattahoochee, Merriwether, Washington and Wilkinson counties. The Colquitt men having a majority, had the whole matter in their own hands, but the seated delegates were pretty equally divided between the contesting sides. Among the contestants admitted were W. T. Revill, J. Sweat, J. N. Gilmore and J. K. Hines. The Hon. L. N. Trammell was elected, unanimously, President of the Convention. There has never been, in the history of public conventions, a finer piece of parliamentary presiding than Mr. Trammell's government of this fiery convocation. It must be held in mind that he was a warm Colquitt supporter, and he had to steer between the expectation of his friends for that decided leaning to his own side, that an experienced chairman can so helpfully give, and the proclivity of the opposition to suspect his fairness and censure his rulings. It was the highest possible tribute to Mr. Trammell, that both sides were satisfied and deemed his action fair. Not only this, but in the clash of parliamentary strategy and in the turbulence of heated debate, there were repeatedly







*L. N. Trammell*

HON. L. N. TRAMMELL, PRESIDENT DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.



two dangerous contingencies constantly threatening, viz., inextricable confusion in the order of business and an ungovernable turmoil. Mr. Trammell met both of these perils with a most masterly skill and firmness. His solution of a parliamentary puzzle was instantaneous and decisive. No man with a less available and thorough knowledge of the law of deliberative bodies could have been equal to the trying occasion. His intuitions were like lightning, and as resolute as the edicts of an autocrat.

Both sides stood in eager, reckless antagonism, and fought for every advantage. Both sides were determined and combative, and their spirit drove to an explosion. Mr. Trammell held the unruly elements with a strong hand, and carried the stormy proceeding for seven long days to an orderly conclusion. It was a splendid triumph of presiding genius. And it was an extraordinary and unequaled piece of tact, intelligence, firmness and leadership. The policy of the Colquitt men, looking to win converts, was conciliation. The policy of the opposition, looking solely to defeat Colquitt, was collision that would solidify the anti-Colquitt men, and they therefore used every means to stir strife and sting the majority to feeling and aggressiveness. In the Colquitt caucus the line of a determined silence was laid out, but the minority leaders were so adroit and annoying, putting the smart so effectively that time and again some of the majority, worried and goaded out of all discretion, slopped over and went to fighting back in good fashion to the unspeakable delight of the minority leaders.

There never was just such another parliamentary battle. It was a large body of unusual intelligence. It was an unbroken majority against a solid minority. The leaders on both sides were men of splendid wit. The masses of both sides were men of conviction and pride. Colquitt's hold on his followers was a marvel of personal influence. The other candidates were speedily absorbed in the overwhelming and implacable purpose to defeat Colquitt, and the hold of the opposition leaders on their coalition of four conflicting squads, caring nothing for each other, and only united in a crusade to defeat a common opponent, was a phenomenon of management. The minority leaders were afraid of their men, who were disposed to yield an unavailing fight, especially when they were placed in the disagreeable position of an obstinate and factious minority. And these leaders would stir up a hot debate, when an injudicious speaker of the majority, under some scorching provocation, would blurt out a reproach that would weld the dissolving minority. The greatest danger was in the withdrawal of the



minority candidates, under the appeal that they were holding their names as instruments to prolong a strife and balk a decided majority. The minority leaders overcame this peril by pressing the obligation upon these candidates to stand to the friends who had fought their battle. It was a cruel slaughter of men for an honorable idea.

All through the thrilling conflict it seemed as if a series of well-meant acts of the majority played into the hands of the keen-witted and implacable minority leaders. Just when the convention seemed at a solution, some unfortunate episode would remit the body back to turbulence and irreconcilable division. Every effort was made to break the unity of the Colquitt phalanx. Man after man of its leaders was tempted with the nomination. The minority, it was alleged, was ready to support any one the majority would offer, except — Colquitt. It was a strange and persevering fight on one unalterable line. It was a miracle of hostile tenacity. Nor is there any reasonable solution of it in the mere opposition to Gov. Colquitt. Men were pushing this crusade of enmity to Colquitt, who had none of it, and were merely using it as a weapon. This will be referred to later.

Gen. Young threw the two-thirds rule at the minority with a ringing defiance that roused every spark of the war spirit. In the majority caucus it had been determined to concede the two-thirds rule for this convention, but to urge that the majority rule prevail in future conventions. Mr. Walsh made an eloquent effort to press the majority rule for the future, but strange to say, the unspeakable folly was committed of the members of the majority voting in the convention against a measure they supported in caucus. This episode did no good to the majority, and gave the minority a manifest advantage. One of the gentlemen who made a fine impression on this body, was I. E. Shumate, of Dalton, Whitfield county. Both in caucus and convention, he was very brilliant and impressive. His oratory is musical and stirring, and his matter and manner dignified, conservative, and magnetic. He evinced a rare quality of leadership. His colleague, Col. J. A. W. Johnson, in several meetings of the caucus, made some talks in his own inimitable, tingling style, that will stay in the memory of every man that heard them.

The next movement that excited sharp discussion, was the report of the Committee on Rules. Judge D. A. Vason was the author of the two regulations that no man should be voted for, who was not nominated, and no man should be nominated whose permission had not been first obtained. This was an innovation upon the ordinary code of gov-





ernment of conventions, but it was done to prevent the practice of ringing in "dark horses." Judge Harrell, and Mr. Thomas E. Watson, a bright young anti-Colquitt man from McDuffie county, opposed these rules, declaring them "gag law." Judge Vason, a clear-headed, solid gentleman, defended the rules as necessary to prevent disorganizers breaking up the convention. The rules were adopted. An immediate attempt to reconsider the matter was made by Mr. Sam. Jemison of Macon, a gentleman of unusually fine speaking power, with a fluent, forcible diction, and a voice of penetrating quality. He was supported by A. P. Adams of Chatham, and Dr. H. H. Carlton of Athens. J. W. Preston of Jasper, and B. L. Ross of Houston, opposed reconsideration. On motion of E. F. Lawson of Burke, the reconsideration was tabled.

One of the undoubted leaders of this strong body was Hon. Clifford Anderson, who headed the Macon delegation for Col. Thomas Hardeman. He made some brilliant speeches, and showed a consummate readiness in debate. He moved that the members of the convention pledge themselves to support its nominee. J. W. Warren, W. T. Newman, Patrick Walsh and Mr. Jemison supported the motion, which was carried. Mr. Jemison alluded to the "infamous gag," and was promptly called to order by the chairman, when he as promptly withdrew the sharp phrase. Mr. W. J. Head, of Haralson county, boldly declared that he should vote against Colquitt now, and vote against him in October. Irrepressible little outbursts of a heated temper, continuously occurring, indicated that there was trouble ahead.

The nominations were made with eloquent taste. John D. Stewart, of Spalding, presented the name of Gov. Colquitt; Mr. Walter R. Brown, of Gen. L. J. Gartrell; Clifford Anderson, of Thomas Hardeman; Thomas M. Norwood, of Rufus E. Lester, and Mr. J. N. Jervis, of Judge Hiram Warner. The first ballot was taken amidst profound attention, and the deepest interest. The original alignment of the five little representative armies, was the most important movement of the battle. The vote stood, Colquitt 208 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; Lester 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Hardeman 54 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; Gartrell 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; and Warner 11. Nine ballots were taken right straight along on this the second day of the convention. The 9th ballot stood Colquitt 209 $\frac{3}{4}$ , Lester 69, Hardeman 50 $\frac{1}{4}$ , Gartrell 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  and Warner 6. Colquitt had crept up a vote, while Lester had gained considerably. It was a dead-lock, however, the masses of each division standing firm, while a few votes skipped around.

On the third day occurred two exciting episodes that fired the Convention to an almost uncontrollable pitch. The minority leaders sprang a



subtle ambuscade with masterly sharpness. Dr. Henry H. Carlton, one of the shrewdest of the minority chiefs, proposed that a committee of two from each of the five parties be appointed to go out and select a compromise nominee. The inequality of this proposition, giving to Judge Warner's eleven supporters the same proportion of committeemen with Gov. Colquitt's nearly two-thirds majority of the Convention, and submitting the rights and preferences of the majority of the body, to an umpire, in which the majority had a two-tenths voice, and the minority an eight-tenths control, was something so immeasurably cool and unreasonable, that it excited a flurry of indignation. It was felt to be an open, glaring declaration of war upon Colquitt, and the announcement of an uncompromising policy of resistance to the will of the majority, so far as his nomination was concerned. It was a characteristic act, of the fearless and straight-forward Walsh, to meet this issue clearly and frankly. Rising with cool deliberation, and speaking with a measured, but intense emphasis, he made the most memorable speech of that long and fiery convention. It threw off all qualifications and stopped the parleying. With the characteristic directness of the man, it put the opposition upon the fullest manly notice, and it laid down the end in a remarkable spirit of prophecy. Recognizing that the minority meant a no-quarter war, it accepted the issue distinctly and boldly, in these ringing words.

"MR. CHAIRMAN: Speaking for the distinguished gentlemen whom I have the honor to represent, I will say to the Convention that we have anticipated the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Clarke, and that we have conferred and have come to a decision, and the decision is to carry out the voice of the people of Georgia as expressed in nearly two-thirds of the counties of this State [applause]; and that voice is that Alfred H. Colquitt shall be the next Governor of the people of Georgia [cheers]. I say the people, in order to preserve the integrity of this party and to conform to its usages, have upon this occasion—and this occasion differs from no other State Convention that has been held—sent us here to perform a formal duty. They have passed upon it themselves, and I say we will not be true to the voice of the people if this Convention does not nominate Alfred H. Colquitt! [continued cheering.] In this great State a majority—nearly two thirds—of the people prevail in that opinion, and the friends of Gov. Colquitt, in a spirit of harmony, in a spirit of peace, and with a liberality that should be admired and appreciated, have deviated from the usages and customs of our party in the past ten years, by adopting the two-thirds rule. But gentlemen say that, in former State Conventions there was no reason why the two-thirds rule should have been enforced, because there was no opposition. Why, sir, so much the more reason for the rule being used at all times in the Democratic party. If it is to be so much respected there was all the more reason why it should have been adhered to in the former State Conventions. But, sir, it was the voice of the men of brains, progress and patriotism that the rule should be repealed and the majority rule should prevail! [cheers.]



I say we made these concessions in a spirit of harmony, in order to maintain the integrity of the party. But we have come to respect the will of the people, and we do not intend to depart from the city of Atlanta until we have nominated Alfred H. Colquitt! [great applause.] We have come here to do that if it takes us until Christmas to do it. [Renewed cheering.]

The excitement that followed was indescribable. The motion was tabled and a ballot taken. Mr. Watson then arose and offered the following list of gentlemen, and moved that "six delegates be appointed from each faction in the Convention, Colquitt and anti-Colquitt," to select a candidate *other than those before the body*, stating that he did this to answer Mr. Walsh: Gen. A. R. Lawton, Gen. Henry R. Jackson, Hon. Thomas M. Norwood, Hon. Joseph B. Cumming, Hon. J. C. C. Black, ex-Gov. James M. Smith, Hon. M. H. Blanford, Hon. P. W. Alexander, Hon. Martin J. Crawford, Hon. A. O. Bacon, Hon. Clifford Anderson, Hon. H. G. Turner, Hon. James Jackson, Hon. Augustus Reese, Hon. George Hillyer, Hon. George T. Barnes, Hon. Henry D. McDaniel, Hon. W. H. Dabney, Hon. A. T. McIntyre, Hon. W. M. Hammond, Hon. Milton A. Candler, Hon. David E. Butler, Hon. John I. Hall, Hon. Robert P. Trippe, Hon. Joel A. Billups, Hon. J. H. Blount, Hon. Thomas M. Lawson, Hon. H. V. M. Miller, Hon. N. J. Hammond, Hon. Alexander H. Stephens.

Mr. Watson followed with a bright and most fiery little speech, that swept the minority into a perfect whirlwind of delirium. His sentences came out with a condensed intensity of passion. Among other things, he said:

"Sir, I am tired of hearing the cry of generosity, when I see no generosity [applause]; I am tired of this cry of harmony, when I see no harmony [applause]. I have not come here to be fattened on chaff, nor filled with taffy. You might as well attempt to gain flesh on corn-cob soup in January [laughter].

"Mr. Chairman, I have said, and I say now, that I am here with no bitterness of partisan rancor. I have fought this much-named gentleman, A. H. Colquitt. I have fought him honestly. I have advocated Rufus Lester. I have advocated him honestly. But high and serene above them both, above my opposition to Colquitt, above my support of Lester, rises my love, my devotion to my State, like the tranquil star that burns and gleams beyond the reach of the drifting clouds [cheers]. \* \* \*

"Sir, the gentleman's position means that we must take Colquitt or the party shall be disrupted. Sir, if it must come, let it come [cheers]. We love the party, honor it, are devoted to it, but we will not yield when the gentleman's speech has made it a loss of self-respect to surrender.

"If they will split this Convention, we will be here to the end [applause]; if they will sink the ship, we will remain in her shadow to the last [applause]. We would





deprecate it. We would deplore it. But if she can only be saved on terms as unmanly as these, then—

“ ‘Nail to the mast her holy flag,  
Set every threadbare sail,  
And give her to the god of storms,  
The lightning and the gale.’ ”

[Great applause.]

The effect upon the combative and heated minority was electrical. From all parts of the hall they crowded up to him to shake his hand and congratulate him. Mr. T. W. Akin followed with a spirited appeal. Upon motion of Mr. Walsh, the resolution was laid on the table, and Mr. Joseph stirred a shout of laughter with this motion: “I move the mole-hill now come to the mountain.”

Among the ablest heads of the minority was Mr. Josiah L. Warren, a fine speaker, a rare talker, an affluent humorist, an unsurpassed political manager and an unsparing opponent of Colquitt. He rose and with a soft diplomacy said it had been the purpose of the minority to present the olive branch of peace, and they stood ready to unite in friendship on some standard bearer “*other than the one you have.*” Mr. Ross of Houston “offered Hon. Alfred H. Colquitt as the man on whom to unite.” Mr. Livingston of Newton replied, urging the friendly spirit of the Colquitt men, alluding to yielding the two-thirds rule and dividing the contested delegates. He added:

“I desire to say that the Colquitt men are not for disruption, and do not intend to produce it. I desire to say that if you are tired of your friends, and if you are so patriotic as to desire a compromise, present it to us and we will see what we will do with it. [Applause.] We have no intention of dropping Colquitt now. [Cheers.] We would be untrue to the people and ourselves to do so! [Cheers.] We have no feeling in this matter outside of our duty. [Applause.]

The balloting went on to the 19th with little change: Colquitt 211 $\frac{3}{4}$ , Lester 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Hardeman 51, Gartrell 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  and Warner 13. Gen. Imboden offered a resolution for four of the minority to meet five of the majority and select a candidate whose name *was not before the convention*. He made a strong speech for his motion. Mr. Livingston asked if the opposition had centered on a man. Col. Imboden said they could not present a man without his consent, but for the majority to name him and the minority would come to him. Col. Geo. M. Nolan of Henry county, who made some admirable speeches in caucus and convention, said this was the same voice in another dress—it was the hand of Esau, but the voice of Jacob. The majority had time and again presented the name of a spotless character. Mr. Duncan moved





to amend by leaving out the words excluding the present candidates, but Col. Inboden withdrew his resolution.

On Saturday the 4th day this racy convention had a new and tingling experience. The Colquitt men were pretty solid, but not wholly so. They had sturdily refused to yield Colquitt, and nothing had been able to move them. When therefore Judge W. A. Reid of Putnam, a Colquitt delegate, arose and urged Judge Thos. G. Lawson for nomination, the fury it created was maddening. Mr. Shumate replied in a superb response of exquisite felicity and eloquence for Gov. Colquitt, urging his support by two-thirds of the people as an evidence that he could rally the party around the standard of unity, and intimating that Chatham county could, by a patriotic course, now secure Lester in the future. Mr. Norwood charged that the Colquitt men were putting Colquitt above the party. Col. Willis Hawkins arose on his crutches and in his inimitable and electric way replied that they were there to enter up judgment for the people who had rendered their verdict. Mr. Murphy retorted that his side would file a bill of exceptions. Mr. J. W. Preston declared that he would vote against Gov. Colquitt, if any man would prove a single act of wrong against him. It was, however, when Mr. Preston alluded to Clifford Anderson having, after fruitless balloting in the Congressional convention in the Sixth District, secured J. H. Blount's nomination for Congress and broke just such a dead-lock as this by an eloquent appeal for harmony, that the most prolonged and craziest excitement of the convention occurred. Delegates rose to their feet waving hats and handkerchiefs, and peal upon peal of deafening cheers thundered through the house. The point was the stronger because Mr. Preston himself was defeated by Mr. Blount, for the congressional nomination, through this very appeal of Col. Anderson. Col. Anderson arose cool, serene and poised, and met the palpable hit with consummate force and adroitness; utterly unconfused and undisconcerted he drew an elaborate discrimination between Col. Blount and Gov. Colquitt, arguing that the former was the only man that could unify his District, but Gov. Colquitt could not unite the Democracy of the State. Gen. Young put in a question that brought down the house, as to whether, when it was found that Hancock had a majority of the National Convention, did not every one flock to him.

The truth is that this debate was sparkling and fervent beyond measure, full of hits and oratory, a magnificent and sustained combat of eloquence and ready intellectuality. At the proper moment Mr. Warren, thinking the fever right, arose, and hoping and planning to



carry the convention in one of those mad tornadoes of impulse that sometimes seize bodies of men, wearied with strife and unavailing ballots and ready to drop anybody and go for anybody almost, he moved that Thos. G. Lawson be nominated by acclamation. The maneuver fell dead. The minority went for it with a wild rush, but the solid Colquitt army, compact and immovable, untouched by the frenzy and temptation, grimly frowned down the ambuscade. Alarmed that the movement might release the minority delegates from their candidates, the quick-witted Warren, discerning the failure of his plan, and the threatening peril, promptly withdrew the nomination and told the minority to rally to their leaders. The twenty-fifth ballot was finally taken, and the convention adjourned until Monday.

It must not be overlooked in measuring this remarkable convention, that the delegates were getting no pay and were on heavy expense, and many of them men of moderate means who had come only prepared to stay a day or so. It will show the fire that had become kindled that the convention held together. Men raised money to see the battle through, and the body re-assembled Monday, the 5th day, in full force.

It was a settled conclusion, that a number of the leaders of the minority meant to default Colquitt at all hazards. Whether they could hold their followers was the practical question. Col. Norwood was approached Saturday by a Colquitt delegate, and was reported to have said there could be no compromise, and Colquitt must be defeated. Gov. Colquitt made a speech to the caucus Saturday night, that was a miracle of effect. He would gladly withdraw from the contest and the responsibilities of office, but he never retired under fire, and the fight upon him simply forced him to keep the field. The delegates in strong enthusiasm, pledged him continued support. Telegrams poured in from various parts of the State to stand firm.

The convention re-assembled Monday morning. Judge Reid withdrew Judge Lawson's name. The twenty-sixth ballot was taken with no change. Another episode occurred of a break in the Colquitt ranks, but it was powerless to change the alignment. Mr. S. G. McLendon, of Thomas county, a very effective young speaker, said that he had stood to Colquitt as long as there was a chance of his nomination, that a nomination was impossible with the names before the convention, and that he could not follow Colquitt to the peril of the party. Mr. McLendon was followed by a gifted young delegate from Bibb county, Mr. R. W. Patterson, who made one of the most brilliant and impassioned speeches of the convention—a speech that at once fixed his fame as an orator.



He plead for party harmony. The twenty-ninth ballot was taken, and the Convention adjourned.

On Tuesday morning matters came to a focus. In the Colquitt caucus Monday night, it was resolved to allow a fair chance for an harmonious conclusion of the strife, and if that could not be had, to pass a resolution recommending Colquitt as the Democratic candidate for Governor. Judge Harrell offered a resolution requesting the five candidates to withdraw, but it was voted down. Mr. Walsh then offered the following resolution, that has become historic:

*"Resolved, That the Democratic party of Georgia, in Convention assembled, hereby renews the expression of its devotion to the great principles of the Democratic party of the nation, and pledges the united and enthusiastic support of the Democracy of Georgia to Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock and the Hon. Wm. H. English, the nominees of the Cincinnati Convention.*

*"2. Whereas, After a long and tedious session of this Convention, and continuous balloting, it appears that no nomination of a candidate for Governor can be made under the two-thirds rule; therefore, be it resolved, That this Convention recommend to the people of Georgia, Gov. Alfred H. Colquitt as the Democratic candidate for the office of Governor at the ensuing election, provided that this resolution shall not go into effect until three ballots shall have been had under the two-thirds rule, and it is demonstrated that no nomination can be effected thereby.*

*"3. Resolved, That a committee of nine, consisting of one from each Congressional District, be appointed by the Chair to notify Gov. Colquitt of the action of this Convention and request his acceptance."*

The reading of the resolution created a profound sensation. Mr. Walsh said, in his resonant accents, that the argument was exhausted, and he moved the suspension of the rules and called the previous question. The excitement was intense. The minority resisted bitterly. The fiery young Watson said gamely, "We were tied to the names before us, hemmed up, penned up, starved out. I said that these gyves being upon me, I could never go to Colquitt, and I never will." The rules were suspended. The first resolution about Hancock and English was unanimously adopted. Dr. Carlton offered a resolution that was read by courtesy, "That this convention nominate Alexander H. Stephens by acclamation." Dr. Carlton tried to speak. Cries of "order." Mr. Brown, of Fulton, began to say something of "why sentence of death should not be passed upon the Democratic party." Cries of "order" and "go on." It was a confused time, but the Chairman, Mr. Trammell, held the Convention to its business with a steady hand. It was evident that the crisis had come. The majority had the power, and were firm. Judge Willis of Talbot, asked Mr. Walsh to withdraw





the resolution long enough to allow the minority time to consult. An adjournment was made until 3 o'clock for this purpose.

The minority met in caucus first at the Kimball, and then at the Markham House. It was apparent at once that the solidity of the minority was broken. Strong men refused to go farther in the fight upon Colquitt, and in the disintegration of the Democracy, notably Col. Clifford Anderson, Judge J. T. Willis, and R. W. Patterson. But the greater part of the minority stood immovable and unrelenting. The convention met in the afternoon, under very intense feeling, the majority quiet but expectant of success, and the minority depressed and divided, but with its opposition element stubborn and watchful. The resolutions of Mr. Walsh were adopted. The 30th ballot was taken, and was unchanged, save that the minority concentrated on Col. Harde-man, and for the first time the contest was narrowed to two men. The 31st ballot showed a concentration of the minority on Lester, but with a grim adherence of each side to its man.

Mr. Reid of Putnam, offered a resolution for a Conference Committee of three from the majority, and two from the minority, to consult and report. Gen. Young favored the resolution. The rules were not suspended, so the resolution failed. Col. P. W. Alexander of Cobb, offered a resolution that it was the supreme duty of the convention not to adjourn until it nominated. A fiery discussion ensued. There is little doubt that some of the minority leaders drove the discussion, to heat the body and solidify the minority. It was a debate full of fire and taunts. There is no doubt, either that some of the utterances of the majority speakers, thus provoked, stopped the change to Colquitt. Dr. Carlton and Col. Alexander made speeches, and were replied to by Col. Preston and Col. Livingston. When Col. Preston said the minority was determined not to nominate Colquitt, the response "no! no! never!" pealed from that side. Col. Livingston declared that it had been the policy of the minority "to stuff into our face everybody's name, but that of Alfred H. Colquitt," and that "persistency on that line was an insult to the Colquitt delegates." Prolonged applause, hisses and great confusion followed this statement. He thus concluded:

"It cannot mean that they are in earnest; it cannot mean that they hope to accomplish anything by it, because I give these gentlemen credit for good common sense. If you do not hope to gain anything by it, why persist in it? If you do not intend to insist and stir up the baser feelings of our nature, and get up turmoil and strife in the convention, why insist? It has been manifested by Colquitt's friends that they intend to nominate him under the two-thirds rule if they can; or if not to elect him by the



people, and you might as well receive it now. [Applause, long continued.] And they intend to put him in office next November. [Renewed applause.]”

The heated sparring continued until Col. Anderson asked a recess of half an hour. The convention re-assembled, and the 32nd ballot proceeded. Col. Clifford Anderson cast 2 $\frac{2}{3}$  votes for Colquitt as “an offering of peace.” The applause was prolonged over this noble act of moral firmness. Judge R. F. Lyon, of the Macon delegation, with fierce emphasis, stated that he cast 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  vote for Thomas Hardeman, in the hope that it will “unite the Democratic party in solido.” Applause and hisses greeted this. Judge Willis, in an eloquent speech, cast 3 of the Talbot county votes for Colquitt, saying that they were now testing the question whether they should dissolve the organized party, or cling to their preferences. Applause and hisses accompanied this manly utterance. The last ballot went on in blinding excitement, and the result was announced; Colquitt, 226 $\frac{1}{3}$ , Lester, 58 $\frac{2}{3}$ , Hardeman, 46 $\frac{7}{10}$ , Gartrell, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Warner, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Gov. Colquitt still lacked 14 votes of a two-thirds nomination, but stood the recommended candidate of the party for Governor.

The convention then elected candidates for Hancock and Tilden electors. Hon. J. C. C. Black and R. E. Kennan were chosen at large, and A. P. Adams and L. J. Glenn, alternates. The District electors were S. D. Braswell, W. M. Hammond, C. C. Smith, L. R. Ray, John I. Hall, R. B. Nisbet, T. W. Akin, Seaborn Reese, and W. E. Simmons. The next day N. C. Barnett was nominated by acclamation for Secretary of State, and W. A. Wright for Comptroller General. A spirited contest occurred for the nomination for Attorney General, between R. N. Ely, J. W. H. Underwood and J. T. Glenn. Maj. Ely had a heavy majority, and Mr. Jemison offered a resolution in sport, that he be declared nominated, and that his resolution was offered to carry out the letter and spirit of the two-thirds rule. A shout of laughter greeted this rally. Col. J. S. Boynton’s name was put in and withdrawn. Col. Clifford Anderson’s name was announced, and he received the nomination. Maj. D. N. Speer received the nomination for Treasurer.

In the afternoon, W. A. Harris moved to adjourn *sine die*. Judge Willis, in voting against it, appealed to the minority to come to Colquitt, and make a nomination. Before the vote on adjournment was announced, Mr. Dendy, of Harris county, said he did not wish the convention to adjourn without a nomination, and he changed four votes to Colquitt from Hardeman, bringing Gov. Colquitt within 9 votes of a two-thirds majority. The enthusiasm over this was immense, and the cheering



prolonged, and there is no doubt that the changes would have continued, and secured the nomination. But both Dr. Carlton and Col. Norwood objected to any changes of votes for the nomination, on a motion to adjourn. The convention adjourned with matters in this condition, and Gov. Colquitt was before the people as the selected choice of the Georgia Democracy for Governor, through the action of the most extraordinary convention of Georgia political annals.

The conduct of the convention was in the highest degree revolutionary, and it resulted in a schism in the Democratic party that the people alone could settle, and which they did settle with an overwhelming emphasis.



## CHAPTER L.

### GOVERNOR COLQUITT'S OVERWHELMING RE-ELECTION.

The memorable Colquitt Election Campaign of 1880.—The Minority Organize a Revolt from the Action of the Convention.—J. C. Dell and Mr. Wade.—The Invitation to Dr. Felton to Run.—Hon. Thomas M. Norwood put out as the Minority Candidate for Governor.—Gov. Colquitt Accepts.—Judge Hiram Warner Resigns from the Supreme Bench and Speaks Against Gov. Colquitt.—The State Press for Colquitt.—The Discussion between Colquitt and Norwood.—A Disgraceful Scene at Macon.—Attempt to Silence Colquitt, by a Violent Mob.—The Benefit to Colquitt.—The Leaders of the State Against Colquitt.—The Masses of the People for Him.—A Sharp Tilt between Gen. Gordon and Gov. Smith.—The Inspiration of the Opposition to Colquitt.—The Republican Convention makes no Nomination.—A Desperate Campaign of Calumny Against Colquitt.—Ben. C. Yancey's Charge and its Withdrawal.—Gen. Henry R. Jackson's Superb Speech.—The very Safety of Society and the Preservation of Character at Stake.—The Convict Catechism.—The Appointment of Gov. Brown as United States Senator, a Leading Issue.—The Race between Gov. Brown and Gen. Lawton.—Gov. Brown's Work.—The Colquitt Workers.—Gov. Colquitt's Election.—The State House officers and their Aids.—The Canvass for United States Senator.—Gov. Brown's Election.

THE adjournment of the stormy convention of August, 1880, was the beginning of the second and still more heated phase of the memorable Colquitt gubernatorial campaign. The members of the minority were asked to remain in the hall. Mr. Norwood was made chairman. A committee of nine was appointed to prepare an address to the people and business for the meeting. The committee was H. H. Carlton, R. F. Lyon, F. G. Wilkins, J. L. Warren, T. M. Imboden, J. W. Staton, D. B. Harrell, W. R. Brown, P. W. Alexander and H. T. Hollis. At night a resolution was reported that the recommendation of Gov. Colquitt was not binding, and the minority should have a candidate for Governor. There could not be a finer exhibition of moral courage than the action of Mr. J. C. Dell and U. P. Wade, of Screven county, minority delegates, in opposing this resolution, in fearless dissent from the sentiment of the meeting, which expressed itself in hisses, though both were cheered. Their remarks were thus reported:

"Mr. Dell continued, and declared that the resolutions would inaugurate a new party in Georgia. The question is, shall we submit to the inevitable, or shall we begin revolution in the party. I speak for myself and for nine-tenths of my people that we shall





abide by the action of the majority of this Convention. It has declared that Governor Colquitt is the choice of the people, and I believe the people will endorse that verdict. [Cheers.] It is the duty of patriotism to adjourn now and go home without stirring up mischief in the party. [Cheers and hisses.]

Mr. Wade, of Screven, said he had battled with the minority and had followed it everywhere. But the question now is, if we are not putting weapons into the hands of these men? I shall tell my people that it is best to submit to the inevitable. Gov. Colquitt will be elected in spite of us. [Great cheers and hisses.] I cannot approve these resolutions and I will clearly speak my sentiments. No men or set of men shall ever deter me from doing what I deem my duty. [Cheers and hisses.]”

A. P. Adams, S. H. Jemison, H. Van Epps and S. W. Small made applauded speeches full of fire and opposition to Colquitt. For several days the air was full of rumors as to who would be presented by the minority. It was a heavy blow to the minority when it came out that on the 10th of August, before the convention adjourned, H. H. Carlton, J. L. Warren and Wm. Garrard had telegraphed to Dr. Wm. H. Felton, the acknowledged leader of the Independents in the State, asking him if he would make the race against Gov. Colquitt, assured of strong support, a request that Dr. Felton declined, as his friends wished him to continue the race for Congress. It was with a grim and exultant glee that Dr. Felton gave this significant correspondence to the public, and it so handicapped the minority that the gentlemen, who did the mischief, endeavored to break the force of the injury by assuming it as a personal act of their own.

It was rumored that Mr. Stephens, Col. Candler, Gen. Wofford and others would make the race. The problem was solved when Col. Thomas M. Norwood was declared the candidate of the minority. The committee of the minority, with G. M. McDowell as an additional member, issued an address explaining their course, and published the correspondence with Mr. Norwood. A large Executive Committee was appointed, with Col. P. W. Alexander, chairman, and a campaign central committee, with Col. M. A. Candler as chairman, and C. H. Williams as secretary. There is no doubt of the efficient labors of these committees. They conducted a campaign of remarkable vigilance and vigor. Mr. Williams, the secretary, was at his post to the last, and kept the struggle lively. Mr. Norwood's letter of acceptance bore date the 13th of August, 1880.

On the 12th of August the committee appointed by the convention, Philip L. Cohen, R. Ridgeley, R. Jones, W. A. Hawkins, F. M. Longley, Geo. M. Nolan and Samuel Hall notified Gov. Colquitt of the action of the convention, and requested that he bear the standard of the



party. Gov. Colquitt replied in a singularly strong and dignified letter. He thus epitomized his administration:

"It has been gratifying to see a steady improvement in individual welfare and in every phase of the public condition, and I am not insensible to the compliment conveyed in your letter that you accord to me credit for these results to the full extent that an executive may properly claim in our scheme of public polity. Among the valuable results wrought in these years are, an elevated state credit, a diminished public debt, a decreased rate of taxation, enlarged sources of income, exaltation of the state's dignity abroad, and an abatement of sectional strife through Georgia's influence. To these may be added kindlier relations between the white and colored races, due to a liberal spirit in the encouragement of popular education and equal justice in the protection of all races in every right of citizenship to the fullest extent of executive authority."

The issue was thus made up, and the most intense and desperate political contest of Georgia history began. T. N. Rucker, a minority delegate from Clarke, had said when the convention adjourned, "it will be the bitterest campaign ever known in Georgia," and he predicted correctly. Mr. Norwood wrote to Gov. Colquitt, proposing a mutual retirement. Gov. Colquitt declined to retire under the heavy arraignment made by the minority against him, and contrasted his own candidacy as the choice of nearly two-thirds of the party with that of Mr. Norwood, as the nominee of a committee of nine. Both sides came down to work. It would require a volume to record the notable incidents of this unparalleled campaign. The contest preceding the convention had been a hot one. It was child's play compared to the struggle leading up to the election. It was a species of black flag fight. Judge Hiram Warner resigned his place as Chief Justice on the 16th of August, "for reasons of a private nature exclusively." In a speech in Greenville, during the campaign, he gave the following reason for his resignation, in connection with a decision of the Supreme Court on a suit of the State against the securities of R. A. Alston:

"The Governor thought proper to take an appeal before the people from the Supreme Court of the State, of which I was at the time Chief Justice. I had no intention at that time of resigning. I was able and willing to perform the duties of the office as I had been for the ten years, so far as I knew; but when I saw one department of the government arraigning another department of the government before the country in a manner calculated to weaken public confidence in its Judiciary, I felt that I could no longer, with honor to myself and credit to the people, hold that position. \* \* \* \*

"Therefore I tendered my resignation so as to give the Governor an opportunity to appoint a personal judge who might be willing to decide upon his official acts in accordance with his own personal wishes, and thereby save him the trouble of appealing to the people to review the judgment of the Supreme Court."

There was no more remarkable incident of this unprecedented cam-



paign than this slip of the venerable Chief Justice. It showed the rancor of politics; it showed the excess to which an honest man can go under a virulent anger; and it demonstrated the severity of this canvass. The people thought too highly of Judge Warner to believe him earnest in a reason for resigning that was neither just to him or Gov. Colquitt.

Mr. Norwood spoke in Atlanta, and Gov. Colquitt replied to him in a letter. This speech and letter formulated the issues of the canvass, and were both able and exhaustive. Mr. Norwood tripped up upon some of his facts and figures, and thus put himself at some disadvantage. But his speech was bold, earnest and aggressive. Gov. Colquitt's letter was the strongest document of the campaign, and it will pass into history as a model of political disputation. It was felicitous, dignified, concentrated and unanswerable. It was trenchant without discourtesy, and handled his antagonist unsparingly in a decorous manner. It covered every point of attack against him, and rested impreguably upon official facts and figures. Mr. Grady, the chairman of the campaign committee, sent it into every county in the State for the quiet perusal of every voter, and its clear statements supported by the records, carried an irresistible weight.

The large majority of the State papers took ground for Gov. Colquitt, led by the four powerful dailies, the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Augusta Chronicle and Constitutionalist*, *Savannah News*, and *Macon Telegraph and Messenger*. The strongest opposition to Gov. Colquitt was in the cities and towns, and all of these papers had a noisy and vigorous sentiment to antagonize. In Savannah and Macon it was especially bitter. Col. Estill of the *News*, was menaced in Savannah, with the loss of patrons and business. This was the home of Col. Norwood, and the campaign on that side ran into proscription. Col. Estill, with cool nerve, pursued his course, regardless of the pressure, while Col. Thompson wrote some of the best leaders of the campaign. The four Titans of the press wielded a prodigious influence. The *Columbus Times* later came out for Colquitt, and put in some telling blows. The *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, *Atlanta Post-Appeal*, *Savannah Recorder* and *Augusta News* kept the liveliest sort of a fusillade on the Norwood side, and well exemplified the power of an earnest press.

A discussion was arranged between Gov. Colquitt and Col. Norwood and covered seven appointments, beginning at Augusta and ending with Columbus, and including the intermediate points of Madison, Co-





vington, Griffin, Macon, Butler, Talbotton and Columbus. It was an amusing peculiarity of the canvass that both sides claimed the complete triumph of their respective champions, and the utter demolition of their opponents. The matter depended very much upon whose side happened to have the majority present. Whoever had the numbers made the largest racket. Perhaps the fairest statement came from the *Augusta Chronicle*. It thus measured the speakers:

"Candor compels us to say that Hon. T. M. Norwood is no stump speaker. His two speeches in the Senate led our people to believe that he was a gentleman of oratorical power. He has no magnetism whatever, and as a public speaker he is not above the grade of mediocrity. Our whilom Senator is no match for Gov. Colquitt on the stump."

The selection of Col. Norwood was not a fortunate one in many respects. An elaborate and logical pleader, and possessing an affluent but not a ready or contagious intellectuality, he lacked fire and the magnetic element. A plain man in appearance, he was cold and un-electrical. He was not the leader for the masses. His antecedents too were against him. He had not participated in the war; he had taken the unpopular side as a receiver of back-pay in the Senate; he had been agent for some of our contested Bullock bonds; he had used some very hard things in his speeches about the negroes, whose votes were needed to elect him. All of these matters were used effectively against him. In Macon and Columbus the majority of the people assembled to hear the discussions were against the Governor, but at the other points were for him. An incident occurred at Macon that did great injury to Mr. Norwood's cause. He had the opening and the conclusion. The scene was unparalleled for a civilized community. Mr. Norwood made a severe arraignment of Gov. Colquitt. The Governor arose to reply, introduced by Hon. A. O. Bacon. The *Macon Telegraph and Messenger* thus describes the wild time that ensued:

"Thereupon occurred one of the most remarkable scenes ever witnessed, probably, in the state. For two hours the man stood before the people, speaking amid a storm of cheers, hisses, groans, cries, cat-calls, jeers and insults. Eloquence was powerless before it, and the presence of the most substantial and dignified citizens of Macon had little effect. A dozen times the speaker was forced to stop entirely, and several times Col. Whittle, Capt. A. O. Bacon and others sought to calm the people in vain. It was only when Colquitt's time dwindled down to thirty minutes that he secured a comparatively quiet interval.

"It was the most disgraceful scene ever witnessed in this city, but let it be said to the credit of the greater portion of the crowd, that when called upon to endorse or condemn the confusion, there arose a shout of condemnation that for a little while awed the remainder into silence. The speaker struggled through it all, reminding a looker-on of a



strong swimmer battling with the waves. He kept his temper nearly all the way through, letting his indignation only find voice when it seemed as though human courage and patience could endure no longer. Whatever else his enemies may say of him, there were few who last night did not admire the unconquerable spirit that would not be overwhelmed.

"No intelligible report of the speech as delivered can be given. It was broken up into snatches through which were mixed the questions of the crowd and his answers."

The conclusion of this brave exhibition of manhood and endurance is thus portrayed by the *Telegraph*:

"At this time the crowd kept up a pretty lively fuss, but when the speaker ended his description of how Norwood was nominated, the excitement and confusion became overwhelming. Gentlemen advised the Governor to cease, but he refused. No one could be heard for a long time. Finally Captain Bacon addressed them, and in a sharp speech shamed the crowd into silence.

"When the speaker could be heard he attacked Norwood's war and senate record, but the confusion became so great that even the reporters within a few feet of him could not hear his words. Some one said something about Joe Brown, and the governor singled him out, and calmly said: 'I will give you Joe Brown, if you wish it.' He then gave them in clear language his reasons for the appointment. Brown was a democrat; had voted the ticket for twelve years; had acted with the democratic commission in Florida. He had voted for Grant; the democrats had voted for Greeley; he had favored the reconstruction measures; the democrats had afterwards endorsed them; he had not always been a democrat, but there were whigs in the crowd around him.

"This latter part burst from his lips in a torrent of writhing sarcasm, and, wearied, the Governor took his seat."

This occurrence will afford some conception of the desperate crusade against Gov. Colquitt, and of the lengths to which this stormy canvass ran. Here was the Executive of the State insulted by a howling mob; here was an officer whose record had been assailed, refused a hearing in reply to his assailant. The incident made hundreds of votes for Gov. Colquitt. His splendid bearing, under this trying ordeal, demonstrated the game quality in the man that all men so much admire. The stirring incidents of this canvass would fill a volume of the most dramatic type. It was a curious feature of it all, that the drift and the noise seemed to belong to the minority. The huzzaing and fire appeared overwhelmingly on that side. It looked like Gov. Colquitt was being swept away, yet to the critical and posted observer it was apparent that the great heart of the people, in its trust for him, was true and untouched. Strong leaders, one after another, threw themselves into the current against him, and unavailingly added their best energies for his defeat.

Ex-Chief Justice Hiram Warner, ex-Gov. James M. Smith, ex-United States Senator H. V. M. Miller, Gen. A. R. Lawton, Hon. Rufus E.



Lester, Gen. Robert Toombs, Gen. Wm. T. Wofford, Col. J. C. C. Black, Hon. Milton A. Candler, Maj. Joseph Ganahl, Hon. A. P. Adams, Saml. H. Jemison, Esq., S. B. Spencer, Esq., H. Van Epps, Esq., Col. John D. Ashton, Samuel W. Small, Hon. Louis F. Garrard, Hon. Mark Blanford, Hon. Thomas W. Grimes, Col. J. T. Jordan, Gen. Eli Warren, Hon. Nelson Tift, W. M. Bray, Rev. J. R. Respass, Col. David E. Butler, Mr. Walter G. Charlton, Mr. Alvin Freeman, Dr. H. H. Carlton and others, joined in the affray and spoke or wrote letters against Colquitt. An effective worker on the Norwood side was Col. George W. Adair, brimful of resources and expedients, and of a sleepless energy, and withal one of the wittiest of speakers. There was a close canvass of the whole State, and in many places elaborate discussions. Perhaps the attitude of Gov. Smith created the most varied commentary. It had been charged, that when he accepted the office of Commissioner of Railroads from Gov. Colquitt, he had stated that he would resign it whenever he antagonized his administration. Be this as it may, the criticism upon him was not kind, and in his speech in Atlanta he said he would resign, but it should be to—Gov. Norwood that he tendered his resignation. His speeches were very aggressive. He and Gen. Gordon struck at each other sharply.

Gov. Smith commented severely upon Gen. Gordon as urging that Gov. Colquitt was "persecuted for floating the banner of the King of Kings." And he continued with sarcasm:

"He has preached, as I have been informed, and as he says himself, to the colored people of the State. Again, we say all right. But did our good Governor ever think it worth while to preach to a camp of convicts in Georgia? [Great cheering.] Thousands of holy men have enlisted to teach Sunday schools, but who has felt himself commissioned to visit the camps of these poor unfortunates, and teach them the way of salvation? Has our Governor ever done so? If so, when and where? [Continued applause from whites and blacks.]"

To this Gen. Gordon made the telling reply:

"But Governor Smith makes his climax against the present administration, when he charges that Governor Colquitt does not preach to the convicts. [Laughter and applause.] Of all the marvelous things which have transpired in this marvelous campaign, the most remarkable and farcical is the spectacle of James Milton Smith lecturing Alfred H. Colquitt upon his duty as a christian. [Great laughter and cheering.] Why, I thought the charge against Colquitt was that he spent too much time running around to Sunday schools, and was neglecting on this account his duty as Governor; but it seems that this was all a mistake, and that the real complaint is that he did not do enough running about. [Laughter.] Fellow-citizens, it would take forty of the best lawyers in Georgia to tell what Governor Colquitt's opponents would have him to do. In one breath he is wasting too much time on religion, and in the next he is not wasting enough. [Laughter and applause.]"





This was keen sparring between these strong talkers. Another practical matter that was the subject of a racy tilt between these gentlemen, was the endorsement of the North Eastern Bonds. Said Gov. Smith:

"The opinion of Attorney General Hammond was adverse to the indorsement, and the same I hold has never been nor can be successfully met. It is still on file in the executive office. Disregarding all these, however, the Governor at last allowed himself to be persuaded to make the indorsement. But not until after the ratification of the constitution of 1877, which provides that the credit of the State shall not be pledged in aid of any work of internal improvement. The fundamental law which the Governor was sworn to obey, took away from the Governor, and from every other official, the power to pledge the credit of the State in such cases. Nevertheless the Governor, in the face of this provision of the constitution, made this pledge. The constitution said he should not do it. But he made the pledge. He swore to obey the constitution. I make no comment upon this. [Applause.]"

Gen. Gordon thus replied to this assault, the interruptions showing the fever of excitement that prevailed:

"But Governor Smith places his chief objection to Colquitt's endorsement on the ground that Attorney General Hammond, the former Attorney General of the State, had advised against the endorsement. Well, if Attorney General Hammond's opinion ought to have controlled Governor Colquitt, who did not appoint him to office, it certainly ought to have controlled Governor Smith, who did appoint him to office. Mr. Hammond was Governor Smith's legal adviser when he was in the Executive chair. Mr. Hammond was not Governor Colquitt's legal adviser, since he occupied that chair. Governor Colquitt's legal adviser (Major Ely) did not advise against Governor Colquitt's indorsement of the North-eastern Railroad bonds, and Governor Colquitt therefore, with the advice of the ablest counsel, gave the indorsement. Governor Smith's legal adviser did advise him not to indorse the bonds of the North and South railroad, but Governor Smith turned a deaf ear to his legal adviser and indorsed them notwithstanding. Governor Colquitt, with the advice of able lawyers, indorsed for a broad gauge road at the rate of \$6,000 per mile. Governor Smith, contrary to the advice of his own Attorney General, indorsed for a narrow gauge road to the amount of \$12,000 a mile. Governor Colquitt's indorsement never cost the State one dollar in money. Governor Smith's indorsement cost the State the loss of nearly or quite a half million dollars. [Cries of "Give it to him," "Hurrah for Gordon," "Hurrah for Smith," Laughter and hisses.] Governor Smith indorsed for the North and South Road, to the extent of \$240,000 in all. Two hundred thousand of this was lost as principal, besides the interest for twenty years on the bonds which you are bound to pay. But this is not all. Governor Smith indorsed, against the advice of the Attorney General, for another railroad, narrow gauge at that, called the Memphis Branch up here at Rome, and he lost the State nearly every dollar of that money. [Laughter.] This railroad has long since gone "where the woodbine twineth." [Great laughter, cheers and hisses.] It is among the things that were. [Laughter.] There is not a car, nor engine, nor bar of iron, nor cross tie left to mark the place where it once was. [Laughter.] Colquitt, according to Governor Smith, is a very weak Governor. Well, I am glad he has left no such monument of strength as this. [Applause.] I rejoice that he was not strong enough to brave the advice of his own Attorney General





and pocket such a loss for Georgia. [Great applause.] Oh, my countrymen, what do you think of this warfare made upon Governor Colquitt by an ex-Governor who indorses one narrow gauge railroad for \$240,000, and then buys it for \$40,000—[cheers and hisses]—and who indorses for another narrow gauge road and loses it all except the pittance for which the iron and cars sold, leaving nothing else save the bare and gullied earth where it once was. [Loud cheering.]”

Both speeches were delivered at Columbus, though at different times. These speeches will also give an idea of the heat pervading this acrimonious contest. Against the powerful array of Norwood orators were enlisted and speaking for Gov. Colquitt, Gen. John B. Gordon, Col. Raphael J. Moses, Col. John D. Stewart, Gen. O. C. Horne, G. W. Mabry, Esq., Grigsby E. Thomas, Esq., Walter B. Hill, Esq., R. W. Patterson, Esq., Hon. I. E. Shumate, Col. J. A. W. Johnson, W. C. Glenn, Col. Jenks Jones, Geo. Fry, Willis Hawkins, David Vason, J. A. Billups, and others. The odds, in the number of orators were against Gov. Colquitt.

One of the Colquitt papers presented a list of the Norwood leaders, showing that the majority of them had been defeated candidates for some place and shrewdly surmised that the movement was a powerful effort to build up a new party, that would bring the “outs” in, and the extraordinary personal crusade against Colquitt, was the selected means to accomplish the end. It was the fact that attack on Colquitt was the weapon of opposition. Mr. Norwood had his point of assault written out under some sixteen heads or more, and the document was so bulky that the huge and formidable indictment evoked a storm of badinage and retort. It certainly was an incongruous thing that so many ordinarily conservative men were engaged in this bitter personal campaign, so foreign to them, and so inconsistent with their character. It was a deeper motive than one man’s alleged shortcomings. ♦

The Republican convention met on the 7th of September, 1880, after the split. It was composed chiefly of colored delegates. The question of the Republicans nominating a candidate for Governor was a very important one. The Republican Executive Committee of the State had questioned their own authority to act, and had called a convention of nine delegates from each Congressional District. W. A. Pledger, a bright young colored man, was Chairman of the Executive Committee, and called the convention to order. W. J. White was elected President. The convention was a very turbulent one, but still quite unanimous. Col. Jonathan Norcross was a delegate, and offered a resolution for the Republicans to support Norwood. He made a speech supporting his resolution, and declaring that he had a letter from Marshall Jewell, say-



ing it was for the interest of the Republican party to go for Norwood. A hot discussion ensued. The convention finally passed a resolution by 72 yeas to 9 nays, to make no nomination. This left the Republicans free to vote for whom they pleased. The colored voter was a strong factor in the contest, and was sought by both sides. The penitentiary lease system entered very largely into the canvass. A number of colored speakers took the stump on both sides.

Gen. Wofford made the most effective talks to the negroes, and was very potential in changing them to Norwood. The battle waxed hotter as it neared the election day. The whole State was in a turmoil. The papers were filled with the notes of the angry strife. In the midst of the stormiest time, an incident occurred that gave a tremendous shock to the Norwood cause. Col. Ben. C. Yancey published a letter charging that Gov. Colquitt had drawn from the State \$7,500 for the State Agricultural Society, and not accounted for the money. The next day followed the statement of the Secretary of the Society, Col. Malcolm Johnston, showing by the books the charge to be utterly unfounded, and every dollar accounted for. Col. Yancey was in Athens, and seeing the reply of Col. Johnston, he telegraphed his prompt withdrawal of the frightful error. This was the straw that broke the camel's back. The people had before become sickened with the crusade of calumny against the Christian Colquitt.

It was in the unparalleled turbulence of this phase of the conflict when the opposition was thundering its heaviest volleys against Colquitt; when it looked as if an unsparing enmity would be satisfied with nothing less than the moral wreck and political annihilation of a noble Georgian; but when the great public sense and feeling were quivering under an accumulated sense of indignation and injustice, that a chivalrous gentleman threw himself, stimulated by his own burning sensibility into the rancorous struggle, and gave eloquent, impassioned and unanswerable utterance to the overmastering popular sentiment that had been hitherto unvoiced. It was a dramatic incident, full of thrilling inspiration. The distinguished and brilliant citizen, who was thus irresistibly impelled into politics, in which he had taken no part since the surrender, was Gen. Henry R. Jackson. With every fiber of his intense soul throbbing over the prostitution of a great public election to the defilement of private character, this loyal scion of honor and courage, with the magnificent inspiration that is the child of truth and genius, under the guidance of right, struck the electrical key-note of the great conflict. It was not a question of policy or politics, of administrations



or dynasties, it was something grander and more vital; the very existence of civilized and Christian society demanded the crushing rebuke of slander as a political weapon and the protection of private character.

It has often happened that, in a public agitation there has been some crucial idea in the public mind that has been gathering an overwhelming silent momentum, and yet been unspoken, until at last, at a timely and inspired hour, it has been happily expressed, and carried a mighty force due to the fact that it incarnated the popular thought. And if, as in this instance, the utterance, so seasonable and suggestive, comes with the entrancing accompaniments of poetic diction, lofty spirit and glowing eloquence, and with the highest prestige of character in the speaker, it more than bears the impression and wields the spell of resistless inspiration. The people were inflamed. The State was on fire with fierce passion. The mad battle of slander, pursued with reckless audacity and resisted with desperate resentment, had set the public blood throbbing in feverish pulsations. Every fair-minded man in the State was in a growing rebellion against the horrible drift of the campaign. At this opportune moment it was that this gifted Georgian, Gen. Jackson, the very instrument for such a mission, born an orator, unstudied in political policy, careless of results in the search of the right, and a rare type of knightly sentiment, made one spontaneous, fervent, noble protest against personal defamation for political purposes, arguing Gov. Colquitt's cause with an unanswerable logic, and formulating an appeal of resistless power.

Public sentiment had been grossly outraged by a secret campaign pamphlet, entitled the "CONVICT CATECHISM," meant to put the negro vote against Gov. Colquitt, appealing to the worst prejudices of the blacks, dealing in the vilest falsehoods, and doing great injury to our State abroad in furnishing material for aspersing the very civilization of the Commonwealth. The direct charge of personal dishonesty against the Governor, circumstantially given by a responsible gentleman, and withdrawn in twenty-four hours upon the presentation of facts, easily in his access, fired the State, and brought the campaign of calumny to an explosive focus. The time and the people were both ripe for Gen. Jackson's transcendent and potential effort—his single, unsurpassable conclusive speech. The following extract from that address will afford some conception of its style and influence:

"I ask every true-hearted man who listens to my voice, whether, if he had been one of that majority, and if he had believed in the innocence of his candidate, or even had simply believed that the charges against him were yet to be proved—whether he could





have obtained his own consent to surrender that candidate to such a fate? [Cheers.] I am aware that it is not wise to indulge in strong words, and yet I cannot restrain myself from saying that the delegates who declared upon the floor that rather than do it they would "rot in their seats," commanded my cordial sympathy. [Cheers.] It has been contended by gentlemen, who possess my highest esteem, that Governor Colquitt's supporters, having themselves adopted the two-thirds rule for the control of the convention, and he having failed to obtain a two-thirds vote, the majority could not honorably recommend him for election, and Gov. Colquitt could not honorably present himself as a candidate to the people. This is a conclusion which I cannot accept. [Applause.] My whole nature rises up in resistance to it. If I be allowed to refer to myself, I have no hesitancy in saying that, were my name placed before such a convention, and were I to lose the nomination, not simply by failing to secure a two-thirds vote in my favor, but by a two-thirds vote against me, and were I to be satisfied that this result had been reached through the belief of charges involving my integrity or my personal honor, made falsely against me, I would unfurl my flag of resistance, though it might seem to others the frailest of rags. [Cheers.] I would write my declaration of war, though the words might be traced on the sands of the seashore. [Cheers.] I would challenge the jurisdiction of any nominating political convention to pronounce condemnation upon me unheard; I would, indeed, appeal to my own people for a hearing; would call forth each of my peers to listen to my words, and to look an honest man in the eye; and if after all, their verdict should be rendered against me, while the hair would grow whiter on my head and the wrinkles grow deeper in my brow, and the very earth upon the verge of my grave crumble and falter beneath my feet, I would at least sink into its embrace, proudly conscious of carrying with me a heart which had not been untrue to itself, which had not tamely yielded to the despotism of a lie. [Greet cheering.] A man's country may call upon him for the sacrifice of his time, his limb, his life; but for the sacrifice of his honor—never! never! never! [Cheers.] That is something between himself, his conscience, his prosperity, and his God. Let us beware that, in the excitement of temporary conflict, we do not trample upon heaven-born principles which must outlive the stars!

"The conclusion cannot be questioned that the minority of the convention, by their action during its session, and by placing a candidate in nomination after its adjournment, practically resolved themselves into the grand inquest of a criminal court, with the prosecutor and the State's counsel enrolled among their number, and proceeded to prefer an indictment before the people of Georgia. [Applause.] They have thus made of every voter a petit juror to try the issue of guilt or innocence. I have not failed to pursue the argument of the case, in some instances falling from the most eminent lips, and yet wholly ineffective to control my convictions. I have seen that charges, involving absolute personal infamy, have been solemnly, and yet most remarkably made. The honorable withdrawal of such may indeed rectify the personal; I do not think it can wholly rectify the public mischief. Despicable appliances have been resorted to, which, as it seems to me, cannot fail to tarnish the character of our State abroad. No author can be found to father them; but unquestionably, the parties who engendered the conflict, are practically responsible for their appearance. [Applause.] Under these circumstances, the fact that I was myself at one time opposed to Gov. Colquitt; that I, too, have made complaints of him, never in public, but among my friends, has made me feel the more restless, and the more anxious to repair any mischief which might possibly result from a word of mine. [Applause.] Before the wrongs which, in my judgment, have been inflicted upon him, anything of which I may have complained, has been



constrained 'to pale its ineffectual fire.' [Applause.] And now, as the canvass draws to a close, so far as I am capable of forming a correct judgment, the calm, exhaustive letter which he wrote at the beginning, remains unanswered, and in all essentials is a good defense. Therefore have I raised my voice here in his support, and will hereafter, cordially give him my vote." [Great cheering.]

The effect of this speech on those who heard it was indescribable. Cheer upon cheer followed in deafening succession. It was copied all over the State, and thousands sent out by mail. It struck a universal feeling, and met with an endorsing response everywhere.

One of the main issues of the campaign was the Brown appointment, and, in consequence, Gov. Brown flung himself into the struggle with his whole strong energy. But this issue was curiously complicated. Col. Norwood ignored it entirely, though Gen. Lawton, who was running for the United States Senate, upon a magnificent presentation of his name by the people of Chatham county, for that august office, took bold ground against Gov. Colquitt, in conflict with the usual considerations of prudential policy that govern candidates. Gen. Wofford, who was supporting Norwood, favored Brown for the Senate. Gen. Toombs took no stock in the slanders upon Colquitt, but opposed the Brown appointment. It was right amusing when Gen. Wofford was booked for a speech at Columbus, where Gov. Brown had many opponents, that he should have been alarmed away by the threatened development of his support of Brown.

The gubernatorial and senatorial issues ran along together. Gov. Colquitt warmly championed his appointment of Brown, meeting that issue handsomely, and planting himself squarely upon its propriety. Gen. Lawton and Gov. Brown were worthy foemen, but the contest was not equal. Gen. Lawton stood at that terrible disadvantage resulting when a strong man is shorn of his strength. He was handicapped by Norwood's cause, and carried a double burden. He had many friends among Gov. Colquitt's supporters, yet his course drove them from his cause with a few exceptions, notably the powerful *Chronicle and Constitutionalist* of Augusta. Gov. Brown had his own massive backing, and he had Gov. Colquitt's too, almost unbroken, since the defeat of Brown was the condemnation of Colquitt on a question involving alike official honor and personal integrity. It was a striking feature of this whole campaign that nearly every issue was foolishly freighted by the minority with some uncompromisable question of sacred character, to have yielded which would have been an unforgivable and crushing dishonor in Gov. Colquitt, and desertion in his friends.



And this very overmastering subject of conflict of Gov. Brown's appointment as United States Senator carried with it the vital repute of Colquitt, Brown and Gordon. The opposition made a controlling matter of a simple act, practically unimportant, properly regarded.

The mere filling of a three weeks' vacancy in as high an office as United States Senator was a trivial occurrence. When it was construed to involve betrayal of Senatorial trust in Gordon, barter of Gubernatorial integrity in Colquitt, and the base purchase of distinction by Brown, it became magnified into overwhelming import, it comprehended the transcendent idea of the purity of public service, and it engendered inevitably a conflict of personal disgrace and political extermination. And the intensity and desperation of the struggle were proportioned to the magnitude of the cause. Gov. Brown has never been a mediocre political fighter. He gave to this supreme contest his best effort of brain, experience and energy. He rallied his vast legion of personal and political friends to Gov. Colquitt's support. He devoted every resource of his extraordinary management to this conflict.

Effective work was done in all parts of the State by enthusiastic coadjutors for the Colquitt cause. A series of unusually trenchant and argumentative articles upon the issues appeared in the *Macon Telegraph* and *Messenger*, over the signature of "No-Axe." Their author was Walter B. Hill, Esq., one of the foremost young lawyers in the State. Among those who did a large work in their localities were; Dr. W. H. Pilcher of Warren, H. W. Hopkins of Thomas, E. F. Lawson and Jenks Jones of Burke, Judge E. R. Harden of Brooks, Judge T. G. Holt and Charles Bartlett of Bibb, Phillip M. Russell and Gen. George P. Harrison of Chatham, G. E. Thomas and H. Bussey of Columbus, A. D. Abrahams of Lagrange, A. L. Hawes of Baker, G. W. Mabry of Glynn, Judge W. D. Nottingham of Houston, Col. J. W. Preston of Jasper, Col. M. C. Fulton of McDuffie, Col. H. R. Harris of Merriwether, Col. L. F. Livingston of Newton, C. M. Bozeman, Gen. O. C. Horne and George T. Jordon of Pulaski, B. F. Adams of Putnam, Judge W. F. Eve of Richmond, B. D. Evans and T. J. Smith of Washington, Col. W. A. Harris of Worth, Dr. H. R. Casey of Columbia, R. L. Barry, and a host of others. Dr. Casey has been a prominent figure in State politics, and stands among the first citizens of Georgia.

The day of election came, and the result was such an overwhelming victory for Gov. Colquitt, and crushing defeat for the minority candidate as to excite a wonder that so small an opposition had been able to make such a deceiving show of strength, as indicated by the noise.





The whole vote was, 182,353. Gov. Colquitt received of these, 118,349, and Col. Norwood, 64,004. Gov. Colquitt's astounding majority was 54,345. The import of this triumph may be estimated by comparison. In the large Northern States, where there are from a half to three-quarters of a million of voters, majorities run to a few thousand only in heated contests, and a 40,000 majority is something exceptional. The people spoke in no uncertain voice, and with an overmastering emphasis. And the condemnation of personal slander as a political weapon was befitting our great State. Hon. Clifford Anderson was elected Attorney General, Hon. N. C. Barnett, re-elected Secretary of State, Hon. Wm. A. Wright elected Comptroller General, and Hon. Daniel N. Speer, Treasurer.

The State House offices were in the main most admirably filled, and well organized. The Executive Department proper had the original staff of the Governor nearly entire. Major J. W. Warren and Col. I. W. Avery, were and are the Executive Secretaries, Col. John B. Baird, the Adjutant General, Mr. R. A. Murphy the Warrant Clerk, and Col. T. C. Howard in charge of the minutes. Col. Baird has taken a zealous interest in the organization of the Military department, whose present status is largely due to his labors. Mr. Murphy is a tall, dark-bearded gentleman, of uniform suavity of manner, and a most pleasant associate. The Comptroller's assistants are Robert A. Hardeman, one of the most accomplished book-keepers and rapid and tasty penmen of the State, a brother of Col. Thomas Hardeman, and a marvel of figures, memory and correctness, Dr. William King and Mr. Will Haralson. Mr. Speer, the Treasurer, is aided by his brother, W. J. Speer, and both are close business gentlemen. The State Librarian is Mr. Frank L. Haralson, a handsome and bright young lawyer, talented and aspiring, and with the promise of both legal and political distinction before him. Capt. John W. Nelms, the Principal keeper of the Penitentiary, a faithful official, and a true man, has his half brother, Mr. Turner, doing his clerical work. Prof. Gustavus J. Orr, State School Commissioner, has for his assistant, Col. Mark Johnston, one of the most pleasant and efficient of the State House attachés. The staff of Col. John T. Henderson is a strong one, composed of Mr. J. R. Redding, Mr. J. S. Newman, Wm. H. Howell and W. B. Henderson, all attentive and skilled in their duties. Col. N. C. Barnett has had with him for years a gallant officer of the Confederacy, Col. J. F. Jones, who well suits his venerable and irreproachable chief.

The Legislature elected, which convened on the 3d of November, 1880,





gave an overwhelming endorsement of the appointment of Gov. Brown as United States Senator by Gov. Colquitt, by electing him to the august responsibility over his worthy and distinguished competitor, Gen. A. R. Lawton, by a vote of 146 for Brown to 64 for Lawton, or 82 majority in 210 votes. Both Gov. Brown and Gen. Lawton gave public utterance to their views. It was a right suggestive contest in its philosophical aspects, and it was an even, fair battle, honorably fought and unobjectionably won. The issues were clearly presented by these illustrious intellectual foemen. The night before the election, Gov. Brown made a speech in De Givies Opera House in Atlanta, in which he made an explicit declaration of his opinions. He reviewed the course of the Democratic party, and his own position, on the reconstruction measures, and the fourteen and fifteen constitutional amendments; and showed conclusively, that his present position on those questions was identical with that occupied by him in 1868; and that he now stood upon the precise platform occupied at present by the Democratic party on those questions. He took position in favor of a faithful and just execution of the constitutional amendments in letter and spirit. He was for a free ballot and a fair count. Laying aside obsolete issues, he favored a broad progressive statesmanship, embracing in its benefits every section of the Union. "The world moves," said he, "and we must move with it." It was one of the ablest and most remarkable speeches of the age—a bold, advanced, progressive enunciation of public sentiment. An anonymous writer, "John Temple," in the *Sunday Banner*, gave a sketch of the scene that is well worthy of preservation as a clever piece of word-painting.

"I sat in the Opera House the other night and watched a scene of unusual interest.

"A crowded house—the beauty and the chivalry of Georgia's capital fairly glittering in the blaze of gas-light: an eager, brilliant throng, throbbing in sympathy with the occasion, or thrilling with the pain of unavailing regret. \* \* \* The stirring strains of music from a band of Union soldiers, a brief demonstration as the prominent figures in the General Assembly filed in and took seats upon the stage, and then a pause, a hush, and a burst of passionate applause as a gray-bearded and attenuated man walked awkwardly in.

"The members of the Assembly arose and bowed profoundly.

"The gray beard bowed ungracefully in return.

"Its wearer sunk into a sofa, and, while the band played a stirring lyric, we had time to scan him well.

"Nothing in the man's appearance or manner suggested the idea of a more than ordinary occasion.

"Not a line of the calm, meek face betrayed emotion; not a quiver of the thin lips, not a flash of the gray eye, or a nervous movement of the frame; and yet that gray-



bearded figure, sitting there so quietly under the glare of the footlights, faced the eve of a consummated and realized ambition for which he had watched and waited, toiled, planned and hoped for a weary life-time.

"It was a singular face—not a line or a curve that suggested birth or blood; not a touch of the aristocrat had been born of the twenty years of affluence that had rolled over him; a calm face, with a wonderful depth of quiet patience and tranquil determination in its placid outlines—the face of a man who would have smiled calmly at the stake, not from warrior pride or fortitude, but because the equable pulse of his disciplined and philosophical temperament accepted the inevitable.

"And now he sat, facing a to-morrow that would bring, with a certainty which he had calculated to a mathematical nicety, the realization of his life-dream.

"It had come at last.

"From the plow handles to the helm of State, from Gaddistown to the National Capitol, and from handling the rope that 'gee'd' or 'haw'd' the famous 'bull' to handling the reins that veered the Government.

"He rose to speak. His first sentence, awkward like himself, spoken in the vernacular of the masses, proclaimed himself of the people—a commoner indeed. But there was a homely strength in what he said, a practical vein of thought, a well-defined and evident purpose in his life, a sort of utilitarianism breathing in his policies that commended him to an impoverished people, and, withal, a telling force in his ideas, that justified, perhaps, his elevation to the high position which he fronted. \* \* \*

"Up above him, in the gallery, with arms folded proudly and gracefully, showing just one aristocratic hand in whose blue veins the rich blood coursed calmly in the tranquil flow of his high-bred composure, sat another figure.

"There was the air of the soldier about this man. His erect carriage, his easy and yet faultless dignity of dress and manner, the perfect grace of movement, the firm mouth and the strong lines of the handsome face, with the flashing eye, all proclaimed the old blooded Southerner, fine-fibered and high-mettled as an Arab steed.

"He had the magnetism and dash of a born leader. \* \* \*

"The man in the gallery was the rival of the man on the stage. The prize to be awarded on the morrow was sought by both, but the winner was already known.

"The patrician in the gallery, throned in the hearts of Georgia's chivalry, had reached out his white hands, and pointing to his bright record and his stainless character, had asked this splendid gift of the State. And she said to him, 'Nay!' with a pang at her heart.

"The plebeian on the stage, deified in the reason of the people, had pointed his thin, patient fingers to the pregnant future, which his 'judgment' alone could utilize to their advantage, and said, 'I am one of you. Give me this!'

"And with utter faith they gave it to him.

"The people loved Lawton's purity and his shining character.

"They trusted Brown's sagacity and his wonderful management.

"There the two men sat, in the struggle for the best honor in the gift of the State. And I could not help thinking of the forces and ideas that were at stake in the contest between them. It was the last close struggle for supremacy between the spirit that ruled the old South and the spirit of the new South. The old South was a South of traditions, of sentiments, chivalric memories, of heroic impulses. The new South is a South of conservative tendencies, of practical ambitions, of democratic ideas."



The scene was certainly an impressive one, and the result it prefaced was invested with a vivid and philosophical interest. It is a pretty idea that contending forces of variant systems of civilization were involved. Perhaps they were to some extent. But there could be no better representatives of the best of the Old and New South, than either Gov. Brown or Gen. Lawton, while Gov. Colquitt and Gen. Gordon stood as striking types of the most cherished sentiments and practices of our ante-war civilization. The result had a two-fold significance. It was, to a considerable extent, personal in noting the restoration of public confidence to Gov. Brown as well as harvesting the fruits of the recent victory. And it demonstrated the determination of an honorable but practical people to conform to the new order of things to the fullest extent necessary for the public welfare.

The election of Joseph E. Brown to the United States Senate by a Legislature so representatively Democratic, over a competitor so formidable, and who would have received the cordial support of the body under other circumstances; and after so full, free and searching a test of the issue on its merits, was as fair a triumph as has ever been won in the State. And it was a victory for both Gov. Colquitt and ex-Gov. Brown. The element of Gov. Brown's pre-eminent capacity for the great trust entered largely into this battle, and his career as a Senator in the session of Congress of 1880 and 1881 crowningly verified the anticipation of his usefulness. He had in the three brief weeks of his appointment in 1880 placed himself immediately among the foremost factors of the august body he entered. In the first lengthy session of his elective term he continued conspicuously and prominently his strong and valuable service. He made a number of speeches that seized the attention of the Senate and people. He steadily grew in influence and prestige. He became a recognized party leader. He made a strong speech upon the important subject of establishing an educational fund. His interest in the cause of free and liberal education has been earnest and unceasing. Perhaps the most effective speech that he made was on the "Peculiar Coincidence" in the determination of Senator Mahone of Virginia to support the Republican party in effecting an organization of the United States Senate.

That memorable contest is recent in memory. Senator Mahone, a Democrat, gave the Republicans a majority by his vote, and his friends Gorham and Riddleberger were nominated for Secretary and Sergeant at Arms by the Republican caucus. The contest between the Democrats and Republicans over the organization of the Senate continued





for weeks. The Democrats refused to go into the election of these officers after the committees had been organized. The Republicans refused to go into Executive session to transact the business requiring attention. Many of the Democrats were for yielding. It was Senator Brown who held them to the policy of resistance, a policy that finally succeeded and that gave new strength and courage to the somewhat demoralized Democratic party.

Senator Hill first uncovered the position of Senator Mahone, and Gov. Brown demonstrated the matter, and was fiercely assailed by Mahone, to whom he made a crushing reply. The matter illustrated that peculiar quality of successful leadership for which Gov. Brown has been so remarkable in his long and varied life. Senator Lamar said of him that "the ease, dignity and power with which he established himself as one of the leaders of the Senate was simply marvelous." Mr. Hill, his colleague, could not find words to express his estimate of Gov. Brown's "discretion, sagacity and inflexible patriotic sentiments." Senator Conkling said that he "looked to see Senator Brown one of the most notable men in the country." Senator McDonald of Indiana uttered this strong encomium:

"He is one of the most valuable additions made to the Democratic force in the senate for years. More than that, he is a senator whose influence will be felt all over the country. He seemed to recognize instantly upon coming into the senate that it was not a debating society, but strictly a practical business body. He therefore became at once a sensible, straightforward, sagacious worker, and won the confidence and esteem of both sides of the chamber. He can be a power for good in the practical questions that must be settled now that sentimental issues have died out."

These strong opinions from the highest sources will show how Senator Brown impressed himself upon the strong brains of the Senate. His political stature to-day cannot be estimated. He is in the very ripest maturity of his potential faculties, and has the largest possible arena for their exercise, a domain of distinction and usefulness commensurate to any man's abilities. He is fortified by his religious antecedents and connections, and his christian liberality is an undying monument to the man. Mr. J. P. Harrison in his book of Baptist celebrities just published, thus speaks of his charities.

"Through life he has been a most liberal giver; yet his charities have been so unostentatious that few if any are aware of their extent. Some of his donations have necessarily been public, and a few of them it may be well to mention.

"He contributed \$800 to the building of the Sixth Baptist Church of Atlanta; \$1,000 to the Georgia Baptist Orphans' Home; \$1,000 to Mercer University; \$500 to the Southern Baptist Convention; \$500 for an organ for the Second Baptist church of At-



lanta; \$3,000 for repairs and additions to the same church; \$500 (some years ago) to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and recently (1880) \$50,000 to the same institution; and last year he contributed \$800 towards the payment of his pastor's salary. His smaller charities, from one hundred dollars, and downward, have been simply innumerable."

He holds a large variety of heavy trusts: President of the Western Atlantic Railroad Company, President of the Dade Coal Company, working 350 hands, President of the Walker Iron and Coal Company, working over 300 hands, and making 75 tons of iron per day, President of the Southern Railway and Steamship Association, including the transportation companies interested in Southern traffic, President of the Board of Education of Atlanta, etc. These large responsibilities practically testify to the versatile genius of this masterful character, and give augury, that in the near future we may expect alike in great business enterprises, and august political achievement that Senator Brown will enlarge his own fame and give luster to our State.

The Congressional election resulted in a fine corps of Representatives, viz.: George R. Black, Henry G. Turner, Philip Cook, Hugh Buchanan, N. J. Hammond, James H. Blount, Judson C. Clements, Alexander H. Stephens, Emory Speer. These gentlemen have been alluded to in this work. Col. Black has been identified for years in high place with the State Agricultural Society, and is a handsome, talented person, a fine specimen of our Southern gentlemen. Col. N. J. Hammond has been a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1865 and 1877, and Attorney General of the State, under Gov. Smith's administration, and is now serving his second term in Congress. He is one of the best equipped men we have in public life, with uncommon powers of intellect, information and eloquence. Somewhat of a cold and exclusive individual, with little popular warmth, he has, by sheer force of intellectual power and available public capacity, clutched high trust. He is a marked character, strong and brilliant, and his future is one of large promise.

The Legislature of 1880 and 1881, elected Col. James S. Boynton President of the Senate, and Hon. A. O. Bacon, Speaker of the House. Col. Boynton is a tall, stately, dignified gentleman of sterling ability, the very highest possible character, and of most agreeable manners. He has made an admirable presiding officer, and both he and Mr. Bacon are prominently spoken of for Governor. Among the more experienced members, who have been mentioned before, we find in the Senate, A. C. Westbrook, R. L. McWhorter, Wm. B. Butt, H. D. McDaniel, W. P.



Price, J. M. Wilson, S. M. H. Byrd, B. C. Duggar, R. T. Fouche and A. T. Hackett. In the House of the better-known legislators were: P. Barrow, W. S. Basinger, J. B. Estes, L. F. Garrard, A. H. Gray, W. M. Hammond, A. L. Miller, N. L. Hutchins, T. W. Milner, W. J. Northern, E. A. Perkins, J. H. Polhill, W. R. Rankin, M. P. Reese, H. M. Sapp, J. L. Singleton, J. M. Smith, H. D. D. Twiggs, P. B. Whittle, W. M. Willingham, C. T. Zachry.

Mr. Pope Barrow has been a most useful member with an unusual capacity for legislative work, and a happy vigor and courtesy in discussion. Col. W. S. Basinger is one of the most original and intellectual members, a gentleman of thought, conviction and culture. Judge H. D. D. Twiggs has taken a high prominence, a fluent, ornate and eloquent speaker. He had graced the Bench, and he was equally and conspicuously at home in the legislative halls. The other gentlemen have been sketched in this volume. This legislative body has been unusually rich, in bright young men, just entering public life.

Hon. P. W. Meldrim, in the Senate, has made a brilliant reputation. Representing the critical constituency of the 1st District, including Savannah, a handsome, thorough-bred looking gentleman, with a peculiarly silvery elocution, he has at once become a legislative leader. Dr. R. B. Harris, E. P. S. Denmark, A. L. Hawes, James G. Parks, Du Pont Guerrey, S. G. Jordan, John S. Reid, W. J. Winn, B. F. Payne, are new men. These are all promising young Senators. Among the young Representatives are F. G. Du Bignon, a classic young gentleman, making gems of exquisite speeches, and carrying important measures affecting his constituents with a wonderful success; J. C. Branson, Reese Crawford, son of Martin J. Crawford, W. C. Carter, J. M. Dupree, E. F. Du Pree, F. C. Foster, Henry Hillyer, J. J. Hunt; Davenport Jackson, son of Gen. Henry R. Jackson; H. C. Jones, J. J. Kinsey; Lucius M. Lamar, Colonel of the famous 8th Georgia Regiment, in the war, and ripe now for congressional honors; T. W. Lamb, Edwin Martin, J. H. Martin; S. W. Mays, of Richmond, a brilliant young lawyer; W. H. Patterson, W. A. Post, W. W. Price, F. P. Rice, H. C. Roney, L. L. Stanford, Dr. C. M. Summerlin, J. L. Sweat, W. B. Wingfield, W. C. Winslow; Seaborn Wright, a rare young orator, gifted by inheritance with eloquence from his silver-tongued father, Judge Aug. R. Wright. Mr. J. T. Youngblood and U. B. Wilkinson must not be omitted from the valuable new members, though not young men.

The work of this body has not been very valuable, while it has illustrated the impolicy of biennial sessions and the impracticability of the





laws on local legislation. This legislature has been singularly illiberal in many respects, and yet it has expended nearly a quarter million of dollars beyond the State expenses. It refused to begin the construction of a much-needed new capitol; it declined to even make a bid upon some valuable colonial records of the State, on sale in England; it killed a general temperance law; it left the railroad commission law practically unchanged; it voted \$165,000 to enlarge the lunatic asylum; it authorized the expenditure of \$18,000 for a new revision of the code made by Geo. N. Lester, W. B. Hill, and it has improved the convict laws without any radical changes.

It elected as Judges of the Superior Court the following gentlemen: William O. Fleming, George Hillyer, James R. Brown, James T. Willis, J. C. Fain, F. M. Longley, S. W. Harris, William B. Fleming, John D. Stewart, R. W. Carswell, E. H. Pottle and C. F. Crisp. A new judicial circuit has been created, the North Eastern, and Hon. C. J. Wellborn elected the Judge. During Gov. Colquitt's administration the following Aids were appointed on his staff: Col. B. B. Ferrill, of Savannah, a pleasant and public-spirited young gentleman, of one of the old families of that city, and Col. W. D. Mann of Albany; and recently Lt. Col. J. H. Estill, the proprietor of the *Savannah News*, one of the first citizens of Georgia, Lt. Col. L. C. Jones, of Atlanta, and Lt. Col. T. W. H. Harris, of Rome. Of Col. John B. Baird, who, under the new law, was appointed by the Governor Adjutant General of the State, with the rank of Colonel, the convention of military officers that met in July, 1880, in Rome, passed the following complimentary resolution in appreciation of his services in this department, the resolution being offered by Lt. Col. Magruder:

"Whereas, Col. John B. Baird accepted appointment as Adjutant General of Georgia, and has zealously and laboriously discharged the duties of that office without compensation—

"Resolved, That in behalf of the Georgia Volunteers we do hereby express our high appreciation of the valuable and gratuitous services thus rendered, and we commend him as a faithful and efficient officer."





## CHAPTER LI.

### THE JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE OF GEORGIA.

A fine Endowment of Press Writers.—The Daily Journals.—A Strong Array of Papers.—Gifted Editors.—Newspapers running back to the Revolution nearly.—The Weekly Journals.—The Religious Press.—The Literary Periodicals.—A Heavy Corps of News and Political Weeklies, Original, Independent and Progressive.—A Galaxy of Bright Thinkers and Writers.—A Steady Growth of a Vigorous Journalism.—Model Editors.—Georgia's Picturesque Literature.—The very Home of the Nation's Humor.—An Unequaled Quintette of Humorists of wide Repute.—Our Historians and Biographers.—Men known to the World.—A Glittering Endowment of Poets of National Fame.—Our Novelists and Miscellaneous Writers.

TAKE them all in all, Georgia has as bright, independent and gifted journalists, and as newsy and vigorous a batch of papers as any State in the Union. Our press typify admirably the sturdy and self-asserting character of our people, and blend a sparkling vivacity with resolute conviction and an admitted ability. It is a matter of undeniable fact that there have been in the past, and are to-day, more notable and brilliant men that have illustrated and adorned our journalism than any State North, East, West or South. There is now a larger endowment of superior press writers connected with the papers of this commonwealth than any other can show. We have men that can be pitted against any workers on the continent, witty, tasteful, scholarly, discriminating, masterful spirits of the pen—whose labor finds a ready market in the metropolitan papers of largest circulation, and the most critical magazines of the times.

Our ablest statesmen, orators, jurists and business men have been many of them connected with our State press. Some of the most powerful names among our people have vivified and given it honor,—among them Alex. H. Stephens, Gen. A. R. Wright, Judge Cincinnatus Peoples, ex-Gov. H. V. Johnson, Gen. Mirabeau B. Lamar, Col. James Gardner, Gen. Henry R. Jackson, H. W. Hilliard, Samuel Barnett, P. W. Alexander, Gen. Wm. M. Browne, Dr. H. V. M. Miller, Albert R. Lamar, and others. At the present time, as has been stated, we have a superb array of known and gifted writers, whose utterances are quoted over the whole country, and make Georgia a marked State in its able and progressive journalism.



Of the daily press of the State, we can point to Walsh and Randall of the *Augusta Chronicle*, Moore of the *Augusta News*, Howell, Finch, Grady and Harris of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Clisby and Reese of the *Macon Telegraph*, Thompson and Richardson of the *Savannah News*, King of the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, and De Wolf of the *Columbus Times*, while H. H. Jones, J. H. Martin and S. W. Small ("Old Si.") still browsing in daily newspaperdom, though not editing, are still recognized powers of the press. Dr. H. H. Tucker of the *Index*, Rev. Atticus G. Haygood of the *Advocate*, and Mrs. Mary E. Bryan of the *Sunny South*, are among our recognized paper celebrities.

The daily press of Georgia is able, enterprising, independent and financially strong. It has a high reputation abroad. Several of them are among the oldest journals in the country, running back almost to the Revolution, and enjoying the distinction of having been established and edited by very illustrious men. The oldest living paper is the *Augusta Chronicle and Constitutionalist*, representing two old journals, the *Chronicle* having been founded in 1785, and the *Constitutionalist* in 1799. A history of this powerful consolidation of venerable papers would pretty nearly furnish the chronicles of Georgia for three-quarters of a century. Mr. William Smythe was not the editor of the *Chronicle and Sentinel* in 1858, as stated in page 79 of this volume, but James M. Jones was chief editor then. In 1846-47, James M. Smythe, father of Wm. W. Smythe, was assistant editor. The controversies in 1850 between the *Chronicle and Sentinel* and Wm. W. Smythe, resulted in a duel between Tom Thomas and Smythe, in which the latter, at the third fire was shot in both thighs. In 1859, Mr. Jones employed Mr. V. M. Barnes to aid in editing the *Chronicle*, which he did with vigor and ability, and in 1860 and 1861, Mr. Barnes was chief editor. In 1863, Mr. Barnes edited the *Constitutionalist*, and was a member of the Constitutional convention of 1865. The *Constitutionalist*, under James Gardner, from 1850 to 1860, was the most potential political paper we have ever had in Georgia, and Gardner would have been Governor on the strength of his editorial power but for an early indiscretion. The two Wrights, father and son, Ambrose R., better known as "Ranse," and Gregg, were two brilliant writers. The younger, H. G. Wright, was a witty and felicitous paragrapher, capable of heavy work, and yet with a singularly happy fund of keen, hearty humor. Its present management is exceedingly able and bright. Patrick Walsh, James R. Randall, and a sprightly young writer, Pleasant Stovall, conduct it. Walsh has fine chances to realize Gardner's





H. G. WRIGHT.



JAS. R. RANDALL.



JAMES GARDNER.

AUGUSTA "CHRONICLE."







GEN. AMBROSE R. WRIGHT.



HENRY C. MOORE.



HON. PATRICK WALSH.

AND "CONSTITUTIONALIST."



baffled hope of filling the Executive chair of Georgia, and giving to his paper the glittering distinction it so closely escaped a quarter of a century ago, of furnishing the State a Chief Magistrate. Randall is perhaps the most scholarly and versatile writer we have on the Georgia press.

The next paper in seniority is the Columbus *Enquirer-Sun*, which was established as the *Enquirer* in 1828, by Mirabeau B. Lamar, who afterwards became so famous as the first President of the Republic of Texas. Gen. Lamar ran the paper until 1830, when he was succeeded by Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, recent United States minister to Brazil, who edited it for a year. Gen. Lamar resumed control, in 1834, for a while. S. M. Flournoy was editor, through various changes of proprietorship, from 1834 to 1857, when he died. Mr. Thomas Ragland was sole and senior proprietor from 1843 to 1873. Mr. Flournoy was a vigorous writer and ardent whig. John H. Martin was editor from 1858 to 1876, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. The sons of Mr. Ragland, in 1874, sold the paper to Mr. A. R. Calhoun of Philadelphia, who ran it until 1876. Mr. Calhoun made things lively. He cut about at men and measures in a manner somewhat unusual to our quiet newspaper experiences, and kept in an incessant turmoil of editorial and personal conflict. In 1875 he bought out the *Sun*, and adopted the present name of the "*Enquirer-Sun*." Major W. L. Salisbury bought out Mr. Calhoun, and conducted the paper, with Mr. J. G. De Votie as editor. Major Salisbury was assassinated in 1878. Mr. John King, the present proprietor, bought the paper soon after. Mr. De Votie continued as editor until his death, in April, 1881, when Mr. King assumed editorial as well as business management. The paper is a model of typographical beauty, and one of the progressive journals of the South. It was made a daily in 1858. Under the enterprising and able management of Mr. King, it wields a powerful influence.

The Athens *Banner*, made a daily in 1879, by Dr. H. H. Carlton, and now owned and edited by that very high type of our best Georgia journalism, J. T. Waterman, runs back to 1816. Athens took early to the press. The first paper was brought in a wagon from Philadelphia, by Rev. John Hodge, a Presbyterian minister. It lived but a short time. A little sheet was published by Samuel Wright Minor, who was the first editor that hoisted the name of Gen. Jackson for President. Jackson remembered him by making him printer of the laws of the United States, though Minor had removed to Fayetteville, Fayette Co., Georgia. The Southern *Banner* was published and edited by



Albion Chase and Alfred Nesbit, and was the only Democratic paper in that part of the State. Alfred Nesbit went to Milledgeville and took charge of a paper started by John A. Cuthbert, afterwards United States Senator from Georgia. Col. Hopkins Holsey, Mr. James Sledge, Mr. S. A. Atkinson, Messrs. T. W. and T. L. Gantt, Dr. H. H. Carlton and Messrs. Chapman and Ingraham, in succession, owned the *Banner*. Mr. Waterman bought it in September, 1880. Mr. Waterman is one of the really independent and original members of the Georgia press. He is a trenchant and a cultured writer, fearless, honest and immovable in his convictions, a keen, witty paragraphist, and with a modesty that runs to shyness in his manners.

The *Savannah News* was established in 1850, on the 15th day of January, by John M. Cooper, publisher, and Wm. T. Thompson, editor. Savannah has had a number of papers that have had an honorable career, the *Georgia Gazette*, founded by James Johnson, in 1763, and suspended in 1799; the *Savannah Republican*, by John F. Everett, in 1802, and running for seventy years, covering twenty-four changes of management and including P. W. Alexander and J. R. Sneed among its conductors; the *Savannah Georgian*, in 1818, by Dr. John Harney, living to 1859, and numbering those two bright men among its editors, Gen. Henry R. Jackson in 1849, and Albert R. Lamar; the *Evening Journal*, in 1852, by J. B. Cubbege, and *Advertiser* in 1865. The *Savannah News* was started as a cheap business daily, its price being four dollars a year. The paper has had a number of changes of proprietorship, but through them all Col. Thompson has been the editor for the thirty-one years of its varied and influential existence, except from the fall of Savannah in December, 1864, to August, 1865, when Mr. S. W. Mason ran the paper as the *Savannah Herald*, a little war affair. Col. Thompson was proprietor from 1855 to 1858. T. Blois and Aaron Wilbur have been among the proprietors. Col. J. H. Estill became proprietor in July, 1867, and under his business management and the capable editorship of Col. Thompson, the *News* has become one of our most powerful representative Southern journals, financially successful, boldly enterprising, independent, dignified, and potentially influential. It is a model of typographical beauty and taste. Col. Estill is destined for large things. No man can tell where he will bring up. He has a cool sense, a clear judgment, and a firm nerve that are the components of a strong individuality. He handles everything well. His executive ability is very marked. Whatever he touches, prospers. He owns a street railroad. He has erected one of the finest buildings in the State for his paper.





He is President and Director of railroads, benevolent societies, press associations, etc., without limit, his energetic and discriminating business ability making him valuable everywhere and in all practical matters. Mr. B. H. Richardson, one of the brightest journalists of the State, is the city editor of the *News*.

The *Macon Telegraph and Messenger* was established in 1826. It has been a notable paper in Georgia annals. The name that has been continuously connected with the *Telegraph*, since in 1848, like Col. Thompson with the *Savannah News*, has been the familiar and honored one of Joseph Clisby, but it has had some very brilliant men associated with him. Among these may be mentioned J. R. Sneed, of the *Savannah Republican*; Captain Henry Flash, one of our genuine Southern poets, the author of that ringing lyric, "Ode to Zollicoffer;" Col. H. H. Jones, one of the truest men and most graphic writers of the Georgia press; A. R. Watson, another poet; A. W. Reese, an editor of trenchant writing capacity, one of the hardest political hitters in our State journalism. The *Telegraph* absorbed the *Messenger* some ten years or more ago, a paper established by Simri Rose, published at the time of consolidation by Rev. John W. Burke, and edited, among others, by A. W. Reese and Gen. Wm. M. Browne. Gen. Browne made fame as a Washington editor; he was on the staff of Mr. Davis during the war, and is now Professor of Agriculture at the State University at Athens. When Mr. Rose started the *Messenger*, Macon was a diminutive village. No man did more to make it a handsome city than he. The beautiful cemetery bears his name. This and the *Messenger* were his pets. He was a bright Mason, too. The *Messenger* absorbed the *Georgia Journal* of Milledgeville. The surviving associates of Mr. Rose are the Hon. J. T. Nisbet of Macon, and that most accomplished writer, Rev. Joshua Knowles of Greensboro, Ga. Mr. Clisby has been spoken of elsewhere in this work. His writing has an Addisonian purity of style. His treatment of subjects is poised and conservative, while underlying and pervading his lucubrations, there is a perennial strata of the most exquisite humor.

The remarkable and unapproached paper of Georgia is the *Atlanta Constitution*. In sparkle, push, versatility, enterprise, genius and success, it has no peer in the South, except the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. Its career has been full of romance, and dramatic in the extreme. Duels and libel suits have been among its varied experiences. It was established the 16th of June, 1868, by Carey W. Styles & Co. The company was J. H. Anderson, and W. A. Hemphill was the business man-

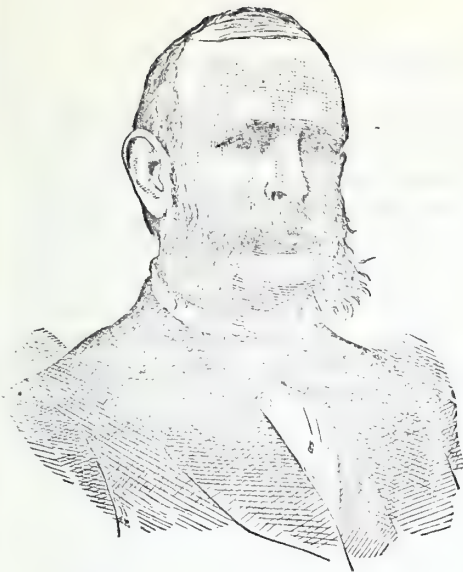




ager, and has continued in that place to the present, a model of managing capacity, and more responsible for the business success of the paper than all others combined. Col. Styles edited the paper, and a red-hot administration it was, fighting Radicalism without quarter, and with a burning bitterness. Styles & Co. ran the paper four months, when Styles went out, and W. A. Hemphill & Co. took the paper, the company being Mr. Anderson, J. W. Barrick edited the journal until May, 1869, when Col. I. W. Avery took editorial charge. In 1870, Col. E. Y. Clarke bought Mr. Anderson's half interest. In 1872, the paper was changed into a stock concern. In 1874 Col. Avery retired from the editorship, buying an interest in the *Atlanta Herald* from Col. R. A. Alston and Henry W. Grady. Mr. N. P. T. Finch came into the paper in 1872. Col. Clarke was managing editor until 1876, when he sold out to Hon. E. P. Howell. The present proprietors are E. P. Howell, W. A. Hemphill, N. P. T. Finch, Henry W. Grady and R. A. Hemphill, who kept the books of the concern for four years in its early history, and has recently bought an interest, and become book-keeper again, a strong business addition to its corps.

Capt. Howell decides the political course of the journal, and writes editorials like rifle shots, that snap and go straight to the mark, and bring the blood. Mr. Finch is an editor of universal versatility and an industry that knows no bounds. He reads and culls every one of the hundred exchanges that come to the office, and writes fine leaders upon every conceivable subject. Mr. Grady's flashing and inimitable sketches, editorials and articles give an unremitting sparkle to the paper. On the staff of this journal are two of the best writers of the Georgia press, Mr. J. C. Harris and Mr. F. H. Richardson, and an industrious compiler, Mr. J. T. Lumpkin. Mr. Harris can compass anything in newspaperdom from a strong editorial to a pungent paragraph. Everything he writes is both strong and dainty. His book reviews are scholarly and charming, with a vein of delicious humor and quaint reflection, and often a subtle and aromatic irony most exquisite. His Uncle Remus sketches have made him famous. Mr. Richardson is a scholarly young writer of rare promise. No journal in the Union has a better intellectual and literary equipment than this paper. This is strong praise, but it is every bit merited. His contemporaries on the journal will not consider it a derogation from their high claims to say that Mr. Grady is the genius of this powerful paper. There is a vividness, an audacity and a velvety splendor about his articles that are peculiar to himself, and that no other man has approximated.

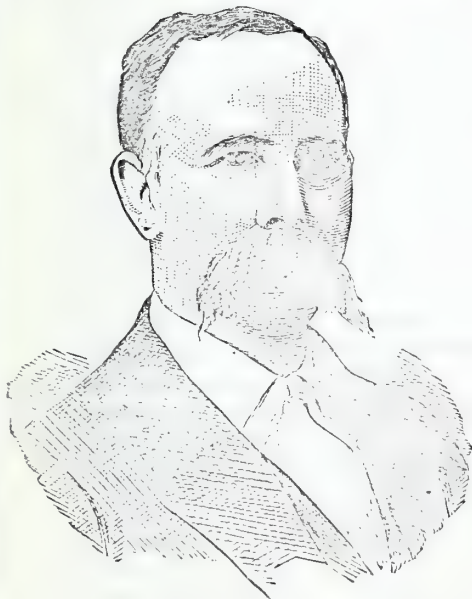




*W. H. Humphill*



*H. W. Grady*



*A. P. T. Finch*



*Emma P. Howell*

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.



The journal had a romantic time during Reconstruction. Its editors and proprietors had five dueling affairs. It then took that root in the affections of the people of the State that gave to it its first growth, and laid the basis for its enduring and remarkable prosperity. During those fiery days of Reconstruction, under the editorial management of Col. I. W. Avery, it battled with a steady conservatism, yet an unwearied devotion for the public interest, refusing the patronage of the Bullock administration, and fighting every measure of wrong. Mr. Grady's connection with the *Constitution* began then. He was a student at the University of Virginia, and wrote a boyish letter of gossip for publication. Col. Avery was struck with the uncommon vivacity and grace of the communication, and in accordance with his policy of making superior correspondence a special feature of the paper, he encouraged the boyish writer. When Col. Hulburt, as Superintendent of the State Road, who was a wonderful genius in enterprise, originated the first press excursion to go over the State Road, to have it written up, Col. Avery telegraphed to Mr. Grady, who had left college to return to his home in Athens, to come and represent the *Constitution* on that affair. Grady's letters, under the name of "King Hans," were the best of the hundreds written then, and were copied into the whole State press. This experience turned the bright boy into his native journalism, where his genius finds its legitimate field.

The *Augusta Daily Evening News* has had a flattering success. It was issued November 20, 1877, by Wm. H. Moore, who had been with the writer in conducting the *Atlanta Herald*. Mr. Moore had associated with him Messrs. Gow and Weigle, all practical newspaper men. Mr. Gow had the material, but none of the gentlemen had any capital. The paper paid its way from the start, and has gained a fine circulation and advertising patronage. Mr. Moore is a peculiarly snappy, vigorous writer, with a good stock of shrewd humor and piquant observation. He has, to a remarkable degree, the true journalist's keen instinct for news. His paper is a paragraphic epitome of current events, a trenchant critic upon all things and men, and a very unusually rapid and growing success.

The *Columbus Times* is a fine and influential paper that is the revival of one of the most venerable of our anti-war journals. It was started in its second career six years ago. It is now run by Wynne, DeWolf & Co., and is one of our best journals, conducted in a fair, conservative and enterprising way. The *Rome Courier* started as the *Coosa River Journal* in 1843, by S. Jack, Dr. H. V. M. Miller and W. Spencer. It





passed through various hands when, in 1849, A. M. Eddleman and S. M. Jack bought it and changed the name to the *Rome Courier*. Joshua Knowles, and Wm. J. Scott, in succession, owned it. In 1855 M. Dwinell and S. Finly bought, and in 1856 Mr. Dwinell became sole proprietor, and has owned the paper ever since and made a fortune out of it by his successful management. Mr. Dwinell was in the war when the paper was managed by B. G. Selvage. The *Courier* was suspended from May 17, 1864, to September 1, 1865. The daily was established February 1, 1881, after twenty-one years' successful publication of the tri-weekly. Since 1857 the *Courier* has absorbed four other papers by purchase and consolidation, the *Calhoun Statesman*, the *Cedartown Patriot*, in 1858, the *Chattooga Advertiser* in 1874, and *Rome Commercial* in 1876. Some of the best writers of our press have edited the *Courier*, notably Mr. Grady, Mr. Willingham and Mr. Harris. Mr. Dwinell has written an excellent book of European travel.

The *Atlanta Daily Post-Appeal* was established October 1, 1878, by Col. E. Y. Clarke, who sold it January 12, 1880, to David E. Caldwell, who has since owned and edited it, and has made it a well-established and paying property. The *Post-Appeal* may be called the war paper of Georgia. It generally takes the opposition to the majority, and it makes matters lively. It slashes right and left and has a large amount of vim and enterprise. It has had on its staff Col. Sawyer, one of the strong men of the Georgia press, and Mr. Wallace Reed, a graceful and well-known Georgia journalist. The *Griffin Daily News* was established in 1871. It was run for years by J. D. Alexander. It is now conducted by C. A. Niles, a capable and independent journalist. It is a staunch little paper, the steadiest, truest, most conservative journalistic craft in the State. The *Rome Bulletin* was started in 1869, and is run by the Mosely family, who write well, and all write, Mrs. Mosely, who has recently died, being a most excellent journalist. The *Savannah Recorder* was established by R. M. Orme in 1878, but is now conducted by other parties.

One of the best and most pronounced little dailies is the *Albany News and Advertiser*, published and edited by Henry M. McIntosh & Co. This was the consolidation of the *News*, established in 1844, and the *Advertiser*, in 1877, the union occurring in September, 1880. Mr. McIntosh is one of the most vigorous and independent editors of the State press. He comes of the famous McIntosh blood.

The weekly press of Georgia has always included an unusual number of clear-headed, out-spoken, independent and well-informed editors.



And it was never in as thriving and influential a condition as it is to-day. The mental activity of the age finds in the weekly newspaper, literary, religious, scientific or political, the vent for that more quiet and philosophical phase of its operations, that deals not so much with the fact of news, like the daily journal, as with its application to life and society. The Georgia weekly papers have some remarkable instances of original and striking individuality, and can probably number as many potential and successful thinkers and workers as the press of any State in the Union.

The religious weekly press of Georgia is very powerful and capable. The two oldest papers are the *Christian Index and Baptist*, founded in 1820, published by James P. Harrison, and edited by Dr. Henry H. Tucker. Both are remarkable men. Mr. Harrison is the son of Hon. Geo. W. Harrison, Secretary of State under Gov. Town's administration, who was Governor from 1847 to 1851. He is a business man of extraordinary enterprise, practical, ambitious, accurate and successful, and withal a simple-minded, true-hearted, loyal friend and gentleman. Dr. Tucker is one of the large-brained men of Georgia, a profound thinker, crystally candid, and a muscular, logical writer. The *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, owned and in part edited by the Rev. John W. Burke, with Rev. Atticus G. Haygood as chief editor, one of the most eloquent divines and powerful writers of the country, was founded in 1837, and is a fine journal. Mr. Burke, too, is a marked man, like Mr. Harrison, a marvel of energy and business triumph. In Butler, Taylor county, the *Gospel Messenger*, founded in 1878, and edited by Mr. J. R. Respass, is published.

Georgia has a weekly literary journal, the *Sunny South*, established in 1875, by the Seals Brothers, with Mrs. Mary Bryan as editress, that equals any paper in the Union. It has a national circulation, and is a brilliant publication. Another literary and society weekly of peculiar merit, is the *Atlanta Gazette*, founded by Henry W. Grady, in 1878, and now owned and edited by Williams & Palmer. The *Atlanta Phonograph* is a weekly literary and political paper, started in 1878, by W. H. Christopher, a young man of some uncommon qualities. The *Weekly Post* is a good paper owned by Col. E. Y. Clarke.

The oldest news and political weekly is the Milledgeville *Union and Recorder*, now owned by Barnes & Moore. This paper was the combination of the *Southern Recorder* and the *Federal Union* in 1872. The *Recorder* was established in 1819 by Grantland & Camak, who sold to Grieve & Orme. The *Union* was started in 1825, as the *Statesman and Patriot*, and sold to Henry Solomon, and the name changed to



the *Union* in 1830. John G. Polhill was the editor. In 1831 John A. Cuthbert, who has just died in Alabama, and who was a congressman from Georgia, was associated with Mr. Polhill in 1831. Mr. Wilkins Hunt, Park & Rogers, and Armstrong & Campbell, in succession owned the paper. Boughton, Nisbet & Barnes bought it in 1851. Ex-Gov. H. V. Johnson edited it once. Mr. J. M. Moore became part proprietor in 1862. Mr. Nisbet retired in 1867. Mr. Boughton died, and Barnes & Moore are the present proprietors. The consolidated journal, the *Union and Recorder*, is one of the honorable land-marks of Georgia history, and has furnished to the writer more valuable political historic material than all other sources combined. It is, to-day, a progressive paper, representative of the State's best civilization and most virtuous and independent public thought.

The *Mountain Signal* at Dahlonega, the center of the famous gold region, was put forth in 1839. It is now owned by Col. W. P. Price, one of the valuable and most public-spirited men of Georgia.

The next paper in age is the Sandersville *Herald and Georgian*, founded in 1841, and now run by Wm. Park. The Lagrange *Reporter* was started in 1843 by Dr. Bronson, with Col. W. B. Jones and Hon. John F. Awtry as printers, and the name then was the *Lagrange Herald*. B. H. Bigham and Col. Jones owned the paper a while. Wm. J. Scott of "Scott's Magazine," edited it for a period. Alexander Speer, a most remarkable man, father of Judge Speer of the Supreme Court, and grandfather of Emory Speer, the congressman, was editor a long time. Thomas J. Bacon, a relative of Speaker A. O. Bacon, conducted this journal. The paper had a stirring administration under C. H. C. Willingham, who was threatened with arrest for his unsparing denunciations of the military reconstruction government. Mr. J. T. Waterman bought the *Reporter* in 1872, and ran it for eight brilliant journalistic years, making it a model in every respect. He sold to Wm. A. Wimbish, who has recently disposed of the paper.

The next weekly paper in point of time was that exquisite specimen of typography and sustained taste and ability, the *North Georgia Citizen*, published and edited at Dalton by J. T. Whitman. It was started in 1847 by Ware & Wyatt, as the *Mountain Eagle*. Its name has been often changed—to *Spirit of the Times*, *North Georgia Times and Citizen*. In 1858, the proprietor and editor was J. Troup Taylor, and not J. R. Christian, as stated in chapter ten, page seventy-nine. In 1859, J. T. Whitman, the present owner, bought the paper. It was partially destroyed by Gen. Sherman's men, and was suspended a





while. It has been Democratic, conservative and ably conducted, and is one of the solid institutions of Dalton. In 1854 Col. C. W. Hancock established the *Shanter Republican* in Americus, when the place had three hundred people. It was a Whig paper, but has been Democratic since the war. It was suppressed by Gen. Steadman a month, in 1865. It is a fine journal, and Col. Hancock is a leader of the Georgia press. It has a splendid scope of territory, it has grown steadily in circulation, and its present and only proprietor, if he lives fifty years longer, will leave it a legacy of honor and profit to his descendants. The *Southern Watchman*, at Athens, was also established in 1854. The *Southern Enterprise*, at Thomasville, began its life in 1855, and is now brilliantly run by Mr. C. P. Hansell.

In 1856 the *Monroe Advertiser* was launched at Forsyth. J. P. Harrison ran it long. J. C. Harris began his bright journalistic career upon it. It has always been a model of a paper, and Henry H. Cabaniss now keeps it up to its unsurpassable standard. In 1857 the Cartersville *Express* was put forth. In 1853 the Gainesville *Eagle* commenced a strong career, J. E. Redwine long managing it. Its editor is a bright writer, H. W. J. Ham. In 1859 the *Early County News*, at Blakely, and the *Elberton Gazette*, at Elberton, were established, both first-class journals.

The Warrenton *Clipper*, so far as we can learn, is the only war-born paper in existence, it having been established in 1863. It has had a stirring time, one of its editors, Mr. Wallace, having been murdered. It is now run by Rev. John A. Shivers, one of the noted men of the State press, a bold, born editor. After the surrender, the Newnan *Herald* came to us first in 1835, and also the *Georgia Enterprise* at Covington. The year 1866 saw an increased activity in the birth of papers. The Marietta *Journal*, Waynesboro *Herald and Expositor*, Dawson *Journal*, Eatonton *Messenger*, Greenesboro *Herald*, Hawkinsville *Dispatch*, Jesup *Sentinel*, Sparta *Times and Planter*, and Washington *Gazette*, all vigorous bantlings, inaugurated healthy, influential journalistic lives. The Marietta *Journal* was issued when the town was in ruins and garrisoned by Federal soldiery. It served a good mission, and gave hope to the county. It fought reconstruction boldly, and was menaced time and again. R. M. Goodman & Co. owned it up to 1875, when Neal & Massey bought, and still ran it. It is a first-class journal. The Waynesboro *Herald and Expositor* is under control of R. O. Lovett, and was a consolidation, in 1880, of *Expositor*, started in 1866, and the *Herald* in 1878. The Eatonton *Messenger* has been a





specially valuable and vigorous paper. It was called first the *Press and Messenger*. It has changed hands and names several times. Its publisher and editor is Geo. W. Adams. It is one of the progressive journals of Georgia.

In 1867 the Valdosta *Times* was established. In 1868 the Barnesville *Gazette* was introduced to the public by Lambkin & Pound. Mr. Pound, McMichael & Allen, and lastly J. C. McMichael owned the paper in succession, the last gentleman now being the proprietor. The journal has been twice enlarged, so great has been its prosperity: It is read in six counties, and is a strong publication. The Brunswick *Appeal* was started also in 1868. The year 1869 saw several excellent weeklies given to the public, the Madison *Madisonian*, the Calhoun *Times*, the Fort Valley *Mirror*, the Perry *Home Journal*, the Rome *Bulletin*, and the Talbotton *Register and Standard*. The *Madisonian* was the project of Dr. J. C. C. Blackburn, for thirty years identified with our State journalism. It is ably conducted, Dr. Blackburn being aided by his son, B. M. Blackburn, and especially and wisely devoted to local news. The Talbotton *Standard* was the enterprise of two remarkable young men, John B. Gorman and J. T. Waterman. Mr. Gorman was a gallant soldier, has been a successful business man, and a great walker, traveling on foot over 1,200 miles, and is altogether a genial and original character. The *Standard* was consolidated with the *Register* in 1880, and is now owned by J. B. Gorman and O. D. Gorman, and edited by O. D. Gorman, who is a facile writer, and noted for his enterprise and fearless views. It is one of the model papers of the State, and wields a deservedly great influence in the progressive county in which it is published.

In 1871 the Catoosa *Courier* was published, and has a large circulation, under R. M. Morris. The Hinesville *Gazette* was first issued in 1871, and that sterling journal, the *Gwinnett Herald*, published now by Col. Tyler M. Peebles, at Lawrenceville. This is one of the strong weeklies, and edited by an ornament of the newspaper calling. The *McDuffie Journal*, at Thompson, and the Louisville *News and Farmer* and Bainbridge *Democrat* by Mr. Ben. Russell, complete the list of 1871. The *Carroll County Times* is a vigorous weekly, founded in 1872 by Edwin R. Sharpe. It has a pure moral tone, and steadily strives to elevate public sentiment. Carrollton is the terminus of the Savannah, Griffin and North Alabama Railroad, and the county is large and its prospects bright. The Eastman *Times*, the Toccoa *News*, the Greenville *Vindicator* by J. T. Revill, the Lumpkin *Independent*, all came



out in 1872. The *Vindicator* is conducted with singular power and independence. The Greensboro *Georgia Home Journal* was founded in 1873 by Rev. J. Knowles, an eloquent preacher and an able writer. The Hamilton *Journal* and *Middle Georgia Argus* at Indian Springs, Oglethorpe *Echo* at Lexington, and Montezuma *Weekly*, and the Thomasville *Times* by J. Triplett, also appeared in 1873. In 1874 the *State Line Press* at West Point, by S. P. Callaway; the Covington *Star* by J. H. Anderson, the Jonesboro *News*, Quitman *Reporter*, Summer-ville *Gazette*, and the *Darien Timber Gazette*, by Richard W. Grubb, were established. These are all the very highest types of weekly journals, bold, able and enterprising. Mr. Callaway aided to found an admirable system of public schools. Mr. Anderson's career has been romantic, he figuring largely in the famous Kansas troubles, and is one of the strong men of our press. Mr. Grubb is a genius. His bright, newsy paper has been a departure in journalism, and is to-day a recognized leader among our State publications. In its files it has embalmed the local history of its county and the famous citizens. It has given some twenty-five sketches of the journalists of the State. His office has been twice destroyed by fire. As delegate to political conventions, member of State Democratic Committee, he has been unusually honored. The *Gazette* has a large circulation, copies of it going to Hong Kong, Calcutta and Europe. The year 1875 saw the birth of the *Berrien County News* at Alapaha, the *Brunswick Advertiser*, the Carnesville *Register*, Hartwell *Sun*, Irwinton *Southerner and Appeal*, Jefferson *Forest News*.

The Rome *Tribune*, the *Marion County Argus*, the Dublin *Gazette*, the Ellijay *Courier* and Butler *Herald*, Crawfordsville *Democrat*, now under charge of a bright Atlanta youth, Mr. Ed. Young, De Kalb *News* at Decatur, Franklin *News*, Henry *County Weekly* by Brown & McDonald, Walton *County Vidette* at Monroe, Coffee county *Gazette*, Swainsboro *Herald*, all had birth in 1876. The Crawfordsville *Democrat* was established by W. D. Sullivan, then sold to M. Z. Andrews, who disposed of the paper to Ed. Young & Co. Mr. Young has doubled the size and circulation of the paper in a month, and its editorial management shows the first order of ability. The *Tribune* was founded by that powerful writer, Col. B. F. Sawyer, and is now run by an efficient editor, T. E. Hanbury. The *Argus*, published by W. W. Singleton at Buena Vista, is a conservative and well conducted journal, having a large scope of territory. The Dublin *Gazette* was the enterprise of John M. Stubbs. It had a number of editors, A. T. Allen, J. M. G.



Medlock, Ira T. Stanley, J. H. Etheridge, and now it is managed ably by David Ware, Jr. The *Ellijay Courier* was begun by Lumsden & Blatts. It changed hands several times, until in 1877 it came into the vigorous control of W. F. Combs, its present efficient editor. It is the official paper of Fannin, Gilmer and Pickens. It has been a faithful advocate of our public school system. The *Du Pont Okefenokee*, *Walker County Messenger* at La Fayette, *Quitman Free Press* and *Griffin Sun* belong to the year 1877. Mr. C. R. Hamleiter edited the *Sun* vigorously, and recently sold it to Randall & Randall.

In 1878 the *Dade County Gazette*, the *Conyers Weekly*, and the *Dalton Argus*, *Blackshear News*, *Cartersville Free Press*, by C. H. C. Willingham, that sturdiest of our political editorial fighters, the *Cedartown Advertiser*, the *Dublin Post*, and *Louisville Courier*, came forth to healthy usefulness. The Rev. J. A. Darr put out the *Gazette*, Dr. T. J. Lumpkin bought it in 1879, and runs it now. Its motto well exemplifies its management—"Faithful to the right and fearless against the wrong." Mr. J. N. Hale established and now conducts the *Conyers Weekly*, and it is a paragon of good administration, run strictly on a cash basis. The *Argus* was the bantling of H. A. Wrench at Dalton, and was a spicy, outspoken, combative, keen-cutting striker. It is now run by Hamilton & Willingham, and is still a piquant paper.

In 1879 several most excellent journals were established, one of them in its scholarly, forceful and vivid editorials equaling any journal, North or South. This paper, the *Sparta Ishmaelite*, edited by Sidney Lewis, is marked by a commanding ability, thorough fearlessness, and an incisive discrimination in its editorial conduct. Mr. Lewis is certainly a strong and gifted writer, and one of the ornaments of Georgia journalism. The *Fort Gaines Tribune* was the enterprise of S. E. Lewis, and has deservedly grown into large circulation. The *Douglassville Star* was founded by Rev. J. B. C. Quillian, and sold the same year to its present proprietor, Robert A. Massey, who has made it one of the live papers of Western Georgia. The other papers, born in 1879, were the *Arlington Advance*, *Cochran Enterprise*, *Americus Recorder*, *Bellton Georgian* in Hall county, *Dawsonville Mountain Chronicle*, *Fort Gaines Tribune*, *Fort Valley Advertiser*, *Harlem Columbian*, *McVie South Georgian*, *Newnan Leader*, *Sylvania Telephone*, *Thomaston Middle Georgia Times*, *Thomasville Post*, and *Warrenton Our Country*. The year 1880 was right prolific in new journals, the *Walkinsville Advance*, *Spring Place Times*, *Danielsville Yeoman*, *Cleveland Advertiser*, *Canton Advance*, *Camilla Despatch*, and *Elberton News*.



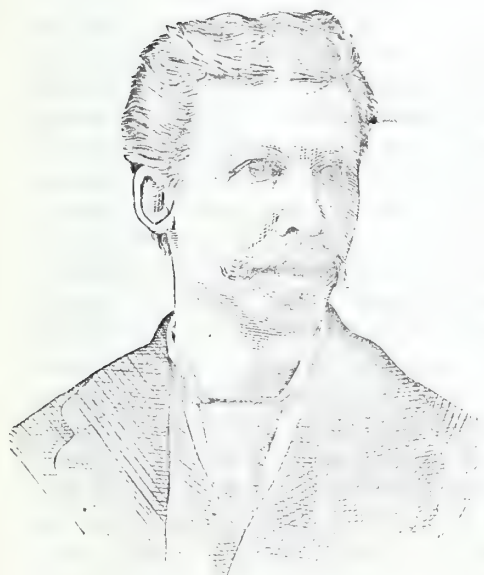




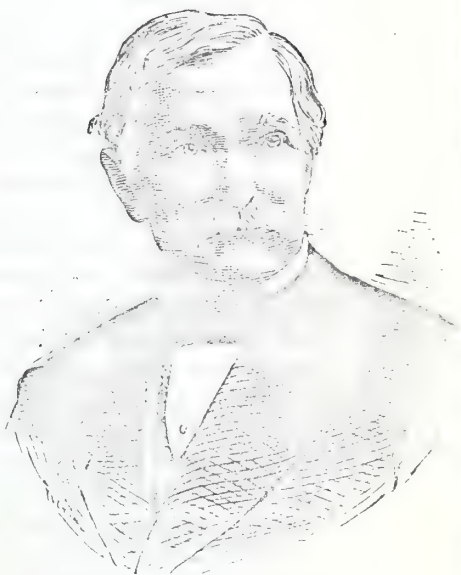
Very truly yours  
W. S. Thompson



Chas. H. Smith



Faithfully yours.  
Joel Chandler Harris



Yours faithfully  
 R. M. Johnston



The year 1881 has witnessed the establishment of several successful papers; the *Walton News* by B. S. Walker, which from January to September has obtained the extraordinary circulation of 1,100; the *Pike County News*, by that veteran and accomplished journalist, Col. J. D. Alexander, who so long conducted the *Griffin News*. Col. Alexander was a gallant Confederate, a good lawyer, and has been one of the best editors in Georgia. He is a pleasant gentleman, true, able and full of the honor of his calling. His paper has had a remarkable success. He has just sold his journal to E. T. & J. E. Pounds.

It has been an extraordinary mark of progress that the colored people have two well established weekly newspapers, one the *Journal of Progress* at Cuthbert, edited by an intelligent man named Wright, and the other the *Blade* at Atlanta, edited by W. P. Pledger, Chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, and a very well educated and smart person, a good writer and excellent speaker. This account of the journalism of Georgia is the beginning of what constitutes an interesting part of our State history, and is necessarily imperfect from the difficulty of collecting information of so multifarious an interest.

The literature of Georgia has not been voluminous, but it has been in many respects original and picturesque, and marked by a vivid individuality. The field in which Georgia literary genius has been most affluent is that subtle and delicate range of intellectual demonstration known as HUMOR. Our State can point to five writers of national reputation, who have rightfully won the fame due to genuine and original humorists. No state or country on the globe can show in one generation such a galaxy of humorous writers as Georgia. These five, in the order of their seniority, are Judge A. B. Longstreet, author of "Georgia Scenes," Col. William T. Thompson, author of "Major Jones' Courtship," Col. Richard M. Johnston, author of the "Dukesboro Tales," Charles H. Smith, our "Bill Arp," and Joel Chandler Harris, our "Uncle Remus." The first three, Longstreet, Thompson and Johnston, have pictured the racy flavor of country life; Mr. Smith has ranged over the whole domain of humorous thought, touching up the world of human foible with a gentle satire; while Mr. Harris has portrayed with a master hand that wonderful and obsolete character, the plantation negro of the gone slavery days. Perhaps it is not invidious to say that the younger one leads the quintette. "Uncle Remus" has gone to Europe to capture the critics and literary savans there, and it is not less an inimitable and sustained piece of character drawing, imbued with a matchless humor, than a priceless contribution to ethnological science.



The South owes a debt to this author for snatching from oblivion pictures of a personality so pathetic and so valuable.

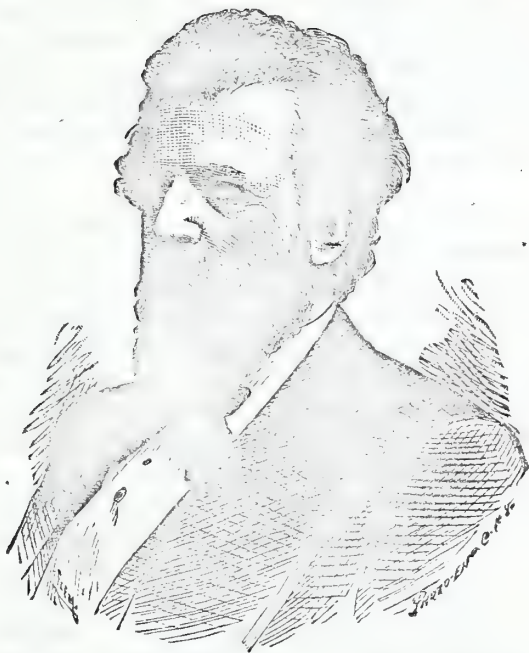
Mr. Harris is versatile. He writes dainty poems, strong political leaders, business editorials, discriminating literary criticisms, pungent paragraphs upon the absurdities of the day, and he has sketched a serial story, the "Romance of Rockville," that betokens the power of the novelist. He is now engaged upon a story for "Scribner's Magazine," depicting the old slave life in the South. The most attractive quality of Mr. Harris' genius is his own utter unconsciousness of its versatile power.

Judge Longstreet valued very little his talent for humorous writing, and was said to be ashamed rather of his successful venture. His "Ransey Snifle" will live forever. Col. Thompson wrote also "Major Jones' Travels," the "Chronicles of Pineville," "Hotchkiss' Codification of the Statute Laws of Georgia," a dramatization of "The Vicar of Wakefield," and "The Live Indian," a comedy out of which John E. Owens, the comedian, made fame and money, without pay to the author. And strangely too, Col. Thompson was tricked out of the copyright of his "Major Jones' Courtship," in the very flood tide of its extraordinary sale, and by a chain of curious circumstances has reaped no profit from its great circulation. This book was first published in the *Madison Miscellany*. A chaste writer and an inimitable humorist, Col. Thompson will live in our literary annals enduringly.

Col. Johnston is writing regularly for the magazines, "Harpers'" and "Scribners'." His "Puss Tanner's Defence," in Harpers' several months back, is simply unsurpassable. It, like his "Dukesboro Tales," is a delicious piece of characterization, veiling in its exquisite humor, and faultless portrayal of personality, a pathos as gentle and an underlying tragic intensity as strong as any man's pen ever embodied. As for "Bill Arp," the man seems perennial. Week after week for years he has sent out his unfailing messengers of wise fun, scalping with a kind keenness the every day fatuities of life, and beneath it all bubbling out a never ceasing current of touching human nature. His book "Peace Papers" had a fine run. Judge Longstreet has gone to his long home. Col. Thompson, in his editorial labor, does no literary work. Long may he and Johnston and Arp and Uncle Remus be spared to scatter their humorous wisdom and illustrate Georgia in the world of letters.

We have had considerable Historical writing in our State. McCall and Stevens gave us fragments of Georgia History. The Rev. George White furnished valuable contributions in his "Statistics of Georgia,"





Very truly yours,  
Charles C. Jones, Jr.  
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and "Historical Collections of Georgia," coming to 1854. In 1779, we had the "Historical Account of the Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia," by Rev. Mr. Herbert. In 1869 a "History of Georgia" was printed by T. S. Arthur and W. H. Carpenter. Hon. Thomas R. R. Cobb wrote in 1858 an "Historical Sketch of Slavery." Stephen F. Miller in 1858 published his "Bench and Bar of Georgia." Judge E. J. Harden printed a "Life of Gov. George M. Troup." Hon. A. H. Chappell put forth in 1874 "Miscellanies of Georgia," and Thomas Gilbert of Columbus was the publisher. Hon. William A. Stiles wrote before the war a "History of Austria," a scholarly work. Judge Garnett Andrews was author of "Reminiscences of an Old Georgia Lawyer." A very remarkable book of historical Biography by a Georgian is "Reminiscences of Fifty Years," by William H. Sparks, a work of uncommon vividness, value and dramatic power. Col. Sparks has a second volume of these interesting Reminiscences ready for the press.

The undisputed head of our Georgia historic writers is Col. Charles C. Jones Jr., a gentleman of the highest literary culture and a born antiquarian. He has published twenty-five books and pamphlets relating to Georgia matters, and is now engaged upon a three volume work covering the entire field of Georgia History from the founding of the colony to the present. His most important work, that has attracted the attention of the literary savans of Europe and won him the degree of LL. D., from the University of the City of New York, is the "Antiquities of the Southern Indians, Particularly of the Georgia Tribes." This volume has a large scientific value, is a model of ornate and strengthful style, and is the fruit of antiquarian research, critical, accurate, and profound. Col. Jones numbers among his other valuable publications, "Indian Remains in Southern Georgia," "Monumental remains of Georgia," "Historical Sketch of the Chatham Artillery," "Ancient Tumuli in the Savannah River," "Ancient Tumuli in Georgia," "Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacraws," "Reminiscences of General Henry Lee," "Kasimir Pulaski," "The Siege of Savannah in 1779," "The Siege of Savannah in December 1864," "Sergeant William Jasper," "General Officers of the Confederate Service," "The Dead Towns of Georgia," "The Life of Commodore Josiah Tattnall," "Aboriginal Structures in Georgia," "Hernando De Soto, His March Through Georgia," "Memorial of Jean Pierre Purry," "The Georgia Historical Society," "The Colonial Acts of the General Assembly of Georgia, 1754-1774." Besides these important publications, whose



scope and variety give token alike of the literary labors of this classical writer and accomplished antiquarian, Col. Jones has contributed innumerable articles to the reviews and periodicals of the country. He adds the graces of a charming gentleman to his literary tastes, and has a superb collection of original historical manuscripts and important Indian relics. He writes with remarkable fluency and taste, in a chirography like copper-plate. His "History of Georgia" will be a work of unspeakable value, and it is fortunate that the important labor has fallen to one so capable and finely equipped.

Interesting sketches have been written of Savannah by ———; of Macon, by J. Butler; and of Atlanta, by E. Y. Clarke. Ex-Gov. Wilson H. Lumpkin left valuable manuscript of record of a number of years of Georgia History, that has never been published. Col. Herbert Fielder has ready for the press, manuscript of a History of Georgia covering the late war which must prove a valuable work. One of the most important books of historical bearing is the famous "War Between the States," by Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, in two volumes, which has had a wide circulation, and is a profound and accurate presentation of the philosophy of the great civil war. Two very interesting biographies of Mr. Stephens have been written, one by Henry Cleveland, and the other by Richard M. Johnston and William H. Browne. Another brilliant Georgia biography is the "Life of Linton Stephens," by J. D. Waddell.

Georgia has had a lavish affluence of poets, and can number among them some of the admitted masters of poetry. Such names as James R. Randall, Paul H. Hayne, Sidney Lanier, Charles W. Hubner, F. O. Ticknor, Harry Flash, Henry R. Jackson, and Richard Henry Wilde, constitute a galaxy of genuine poetic genius. Mr. Randall has won an immortal fame by his "My Maryland." His handsome face, lit with the inspiration of his soul, is a noble outward indication of his exalted strain of pure poesy. His newspaper work is uniformly of the highest order, chaste, glowing, thoughtful, alike full of solidity, faultlessness and radiance. Mr. Hayne has taken a high stand in the world of literature, he being the only one of our writers who devotes himself to it as a profession. He has published several volumes of poems. He is a fine master of versification. He has written some very fine sonnets. He has just furnished the ode for the opening of the International Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, that is a fair out-giving of his poetic genius, warm, scholarly, musical and vivid.

The name of Sidney Lanier evokes the tenderest thought of the



reader. His recent death, so young and yet so established in fame, and with such affluence of distinction before him, has made him rarely mourned. He was a singularly gifted person. His mind early displayed originality, brilliance and critical taste and beauty of scholarship. He published "Tiger Lilies," a novel, in Georgia, a book full of his individuality. He moved North and fixed himself in the literary world easily and shiningly. He was chosen from the whole rich range of American poets to deliver the opening poem at the Great Centennial at Philadelphia—a glittering pre-eminence. He published in succession with increasing fame, "The Science of English Verse," and "Boys King Arthur." And he died in the midst of a new project, and occupying the distinguished chair of lecturer in literature at the John Hopkins University. Lanier was a genuine genius. He had the true poetic inspiration and a divine master's faculty of poetic utterance. Richard Henry Wilde's "My Life is like a Summer Rose," will live with the language. Gen. Jackson is a true poet, and has written some exquisite gems of poetic feeling and expression. He published in 1850 a volume entitled "Tallulah and other Poems." Perhaps "*My Father*," and "*My Wife and Child*," are his best poems and breathe the true inspiration. Harry L. Flash, editor of the Macon *Telegraph*, was a poet of rare power. He has settled down in some distant State to the sale of pork, but to that prosaic business in which he is said to be succeeding admirably, he is devoting a poetic faculty as dainty as exists. In 1860 he published a volume of poems, and he has written fugitive pieces as exquisite as anything in the English language.

One of the daintiest and sweetest poets we have in Georgia is Charles W. Hubner, now employed upon the editorial staff of the *Christian Index*. He has published a number of volumes, all rhythmic, fervent and sparkling. His "Souvenirs of Luther," "Wild Flowers," "Cinderella," and "Modern Communism," have given him an admitted standing as the possessor of the true poetic faculty. He is now issuing, through the fine publishing house of Brown & Derby, a volume of "Poems and Essays" that will enlarge his rising fame. There is one name upon which every Georgian can linger with a tender admiration, Dr. F. O. Ticknor. His poems were thrown off carelessly, and never published in book form until after his death, but he had a flashing vein of poetic genius, and deserves to rank among the true poets of America. His "Little Giffen of Tennessee" is one of the living lyrics of the English language. J. R. Barriek, once editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and A. R. Watson of the Macon *Telegraph*, were





both fair poets. Mrs. M. C. Bigby of Newnan, Ga., has written some meritorious verses. Mrs. E. B. Castlen of Macon, published a sprightly volume of poems under the title of "Autumn Dreams." Miss Annie R. Blount of Augusta, printed a volume of poems before the war. Mr. S. Yates Levy of Savannah, wrote a successful drama, "The Italian Bride," for Miss Eliza Logan, that evinced merit. Father Ryan wrote some of his best poems in Georgia while editing the *Banner of the South* in Augusta. His "Conquered Banner" has become historic. Miss Carrie Bell Sinclair of Augusta, published a volume of poems. Mr. John C. Langston of Bolingbroke, has recently printed a volume. Mrs. Jennie Porter has published "Valkyria" this year, a work commemorating the war, with many poetic flashes, and having an excellent circulation North. Mr. James Maurice Thompson, formerly a lawyer of Calhoun, Ga., has become a regular and popular poetic contributor to the literary journals of the country. He has written many fine tales.

Of serious works, Georgia has produced quite a number. Mr. John S. Wilson published the "Necrology of the Synod of Georgia" in 1871; Rev. James P. Simmons of Lawrenceville, the "War in Heaven;" Prof. Joseph Le Conte, a "Text Book of Geology," and with his brother, Dr. John Le Conte, a "Text Book of Chemistry;" Dr. P. H. Mell, the present able Chancellor of the University of Georgia, "Baptism," "Predestination," "Corrective Church Discipline," and a "Manual of Parliamentary Practice;" Rev. F. R. Goulding wrote "Life Scenes from Gospel History," besides an inimitable series of boys' books that have had a world-wide circulation. "The Young Marooners" was printed in 1852 and has been issued by the tens of thousands in America and Europe. Mr. James P. Harrison has just issued one of the most valuable publications of the day, a volume of 900 pages, giving the biographies of Southern Baptist divines, illustrated with over 400 portraits. It has been edited with great care, and printed by his own publishing establishment, the Franklin Printing House. A remarkable work just published is "Our Brother in Black," by that powerful writer and eloquent divine, Rev. Atticus G. Haygood, president of Emory College and editor of the *Methodist Advocate*. It is an able, fearless, original and conservative work, dealing with the problem of the colored race in the South with both a Christian and statesman-like hand. It is one of the most sententious, pregnant and philosophical publications of the time, and deserves the general circulation it is getting. Capt. M. Dwinell, of the *Rome Courier*, gave us "Common Sense Views of Foreign Lands," a remarkably clear book of travels, written with force and sim-



plicity. Rev. J. M. Bonnell, president Wesleyan Female College, Macon, issued a "Manual of the Art of Prose Composition." Prof. R. M. Johnson published "The English Classics" as a text-book in colleges, a work clear, accurate and discriminating. Col. W. S. Rockwell printed a "Hand-Book of Masonry." Mrs. Mel R. Colquitt is one of our most gifted lady writers, who has written no book, but gained high reputation for her varied contributions to the periodicals of the day. Mr. White of Athens has written a book on "Southern Gardening" that is an authority.

In the domain of fiction Georgia has done well. The leading novelist of the South, Miss Augusta J. Evans, now Mrs. Wilson, author of "Beulah," "Macaria," etc., and is a Georgia born lady. Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, recent U. S. Minister to Brazil, Congressman from Georgia from 1845 to 1851, issued a novel, "De Vane: a Story of Plebeians and Patricians," in 1866. Mr. Clifford A. Lanier, a brother of Sidney Lanier, has given the State two novels, "Thorn-Fruit" and "Two Hundred Bales;" Rev. Mr. Warren of Macon, the novel of "Nellie Norton;" Mrs. Maria J. Westmoreland, "Heart-Hungry" and "Clifford Troup;" Mrs. Mary E. Tucker, the "Confessions of a Flirt;" Mrs. Emma L. Moffett of Columbus, "Crown Jewels;" W. D. Trammell, "Ca Ira;" Miss L. A. Field, "Helen Freeman on the Right Path;" Mrs. M. J. R. Hamilton, "Cachet;" Mrs. Fannie Hood of Rome, "Maude, a Life Drama;" Mrs. Hammond of Atlanta, has recently put out the "Georgians," a novel of unusual power.

Our two romance writers at present, of largest celebrity, are Mrs. Mary E. Bryan and Prof. William Henry Peck. Mrs. Bryan has published "Manche" and "Wild Work," two very dramatic novels, given out under the strong imprimatur of the Appletons, and displaying talent of a high order. She has been for years editing the *Sunny South*. That she has found time and been able amid her severe absorption of journalistic duty to produce two such fictions, is something remarkable. "Wild Work" is a reconstruction romance, founded in fact, and depicting some of the anomalous phases of that strange era in the South following the war, that has been narrated in this volume in its place in the march of turbulent events. Mrs. Bryan has genuine literary genius, and it is finding a wide and appreciative recognition. She is also a lady of lovely character and delightful social qualities. Prof. William Henry Peck has probably made more money than all the rest of our literary workers. He has been professor, president of a college, editor and novelist. His fecundity of literary production is extraordinary. He



had published thirty-four serials up to 1869, many of them stories of the late war, the "Renegade," "The Conspirators of New Orleans," "The Phantom," "The Confederate Flag of the Ocean," "The Maids and Matrons of Virginia," etc. In 1868, Prof. Peck moved to New York and lived there until 1875, when he located in Atlanta. In New York he wrote only for Bonner's great paper, the *Ledger*, the *New York Weekly* and the *Philadelphia Saturday Night*. Mr. Bonner, with that bold management that has marked him, has for years monopolized the genius of our Georgian, whose stories have so largely contributed to his paper's success, and paid him the salary that railroad presidents receive. Mr. Peck has had \$5,000 for a single story. His novels are principally historical, requiring laborious study before the author begins to fill out his plots. He writes usually five hours a day, sometimes ten. He studies five hours a day, and in addition reads everything published and keeps up with the press. He is a student of faces, voices, mannerisms and peculiarities, and combines the result of his observation in his characters.

It has been no accident or stretch that enables this industrious Georgian to lead the serial writers of the world, to command a princely income, and to maintain his hold upon the largest reading constituency in America and England. Since 1870 he has written some forty novels, among them "The Stone Cutter of Lisbon," "The King's Messenger," "The Queen's Secret," "Flower Girl of London," "The Miller of Marseilles," etc.

The characteristics of both our Georgia Journalism and Literature are marked,—healthy sentiment, independent thought, and a rapidly increasing culture. The genius of our Georgians is pure, original, and of a sunny, picturesque quality, but lacking in discipline and equipment. The epoch of reconstruction has in many respects favored the demonstration of our Southern literary talent. The stimulus of necessity has forced latent intellectuality to vigorous exercise. Success, of unquestionable capacity, has only been possible in competition with the trained methods of literary professionals, and to this end have our bright Georgia intelligences studied and striven. The warm fancy and strong, vivid, ready brainfulness of the minds of a race, gifted by nature and inheritance, have developed wonderfully. And, in the light of the versatile intellectual activity in our State in the last decade, reaching the demands of cosmopolitan criticism, grasping the attention of the world of letters and running into the highest forms of manifestation, we can indulge in large augury for our State's literary future.





## CHAPTER LII.

### THE RAILROADS, RESOURCES AND FUTURE OF GEORGIA.

The State use of Railroads.—Stupendous Railway Schemes Centering in Georgia recently.—Our State Railways.—The Central, Georgia, Air Line and State Railroads.—Wm. M. Wadley and his Great Plan.—E. W. Cole and his Dramatic Vicissitudes.—The Erlanger Syndicate.—The Richmond and Danville, and Georgia Pacific Combination.—The Louisville and Nashville Organization and Gen. E. P. Alexander.—Over 250 Millions of Railroad Property Focalizing on Georgia; and 25 Millions Building on Georgia soil.—Our Railroad Superintendents.—L. N. Trammell, Railroad Commissioner.—Georgia's Mineral Affluence.—A Grand State in Mineral Wealth.—The Results of the Geological Survey.—Our Agricultural Attractions.—The Work of our Agricultural Department.—Cotton Production.—Fruit.—Immense Range of Production.—Productive Fertility.—Stock.—Water Power Limitable.—Small Farms.—Cotton Manufacture.—Free Schools.—The International Cotton Exposition.—An Amazing Enterprise.—A World's Fair put on foot in 108 days.—The Men of this Great Work.—The Opening of the Exposition.—Great Speeches.—Senators Z. B. Vance and D. W. Voorhees.—The Scope of the Exhibit.—A New Era betokened, and Georgia its Apostle.—The Summing up of Georgia's Career and Destiny.—A Noble Statehood, leading in the rush of Civilization and Progress.—The End.

ONE of the most powerful elements in Georgia's striking progress has been that her people early learned the value of the railroad, as an irresistible instrumentality of advancement. And it has been a curious exemplification of her potential destiny, that in the last year or two this State has been the focal point of five stupendous railroad combinations, including thousands of miles of track, radiating through a quarter of the vast Union, and involving hundreds of millions of property. And it is a fact, significant and honorable, that the majority of the master spirits of these colossal enterprises are from Georgia. It is no accident that this supreme pre-eminence has fallen to our commonwealth, but it is the result of adequate causes—her geographical advantages, her superb resources, and the genius of her men.

We have now in Georgia 2,616 completed miles of railroad property in the State, estimated as worth sixty millions of dollars. The capital stock in 1880 was \$31,380,650; funded and other debt, \$24,136,727—total \$55,517,342. These roads cost \$49,676,723. They earned





\$8,416,625, net earnings being \$3,429,018, of which \$1,619,936 was paid as dividends, and \$1,051,111 as interest. The first railroads built were the Central, from Savannah to Macon, 191 miles in length, and the Georgia railroad, 171 miles, from Augusta to Atlanta. The experimental survey for the Central Road was made by Col. Cruger, at the cost of the city of Savannah, in 1834. The Central Railroad and Banking Company was organized in 1835, the road begun in 1836, and completed in 1843. The master spirit of this initial enterprise was W. W. Gordon, Esq., a gentleman of uncommon energy and administrative ability. The charter of the Georgia road was granted in 1833. A part of it was operating in 1837, and the road completed in 1845. The Macon and Western Railroad was chartered in 1833, the charter amended in 1836, and the road completed from Macon to Atlanta, 103 miles, in 1846. These roads had been constructed by private capital. Our enterprising people immediately turned their energies to connecting our completed triangular system from Savannah and Augusta, to Atlanta, with the great West. Some bold spirits, among them Hon. Alex. H. Stephens, chartered, and voted the State's money to the Western and Atlantic Railroad, 138 miles, from Atlanta to Chattanooga, Tenn. This road was completed in 1850. The Air Line was chartered in 1856. Mr. Jonathan Norcross was the first president. The road was located in 1860. Work was not begun until 1867, under Col. Buford as president. The first ground was broken March, 1869, and the first rail laid October, 1869. The road was completed August 26, 1872, the 265 miles from Atlanta to Charlotte costing \$7,950,000. The name, Col. J. G. Foreacre, has a powerful and honorable connection with this great road. He was its general manager for years, and is a gentleman of extraordinary ability and enterprise. He is now president of the North-Eastern Railroad. Still another name of strong prominence that had connection with the Air Line, is Maj. John B. Peck, who has long managed the South Carolina road, an able railroad writer as well as manager.

To show the benefits of railroads, on the Air Line road, the population decreased from 1850 to 1860, when there was no railroad, at least two per cent., or from 108,800 to 105,247, while on the Western and Atlantic railroad it increased thirty-five per cent., or from 98,208 to 132,549. The enhancement of property in value was over twenty-two millions, or eighty per cent. greater on the State road. After the Air Line road was built, the increase in fourteen counties was fifteen millions in four years, and 2,000 voters, representing 14,000 people.



The South-western Railroad, 143 miles, from Macon to Eufaula, Ala.; the branch from Gordon to Eatonton, 38 miles; the branch from Augusta to Millen, 53 miles; from Barnesville to Thomaston, 16 miles; from Fort Valley to Columbus, 71 miles; from Perry to Fort Valley, 12 miles; from Smithville to Arlington, 59 miles; from Cuthbert to Fort Gaines, 22 miles; from Griffin to Carrollton, 60 miles, all now belong by purchase or lease to the Central, making 787 miles.

The Georgia Railroad, 171 miles; Macon branch, 78 miles; Washington branch, 18 miles; Athens branch, 40 miles; Hartwell road, 10 miles, and Lawrenceville road, 10 miles, making 327 miles, have been leased by the Central Railroad, giving that enormous corporation 1,114 miles of track in the State, besides its outer connections of the Western Railroad of Alabama, Montgomery and Eufaula road, and Port Royal and Augusta road, running its total to 1,494 miles of road. It is in close sympathy with the Atlanta and West Point Railroad, 89 miles, one of the most valuable and best managed railways in the South, whose stock has valued high, and whose governing spirit has been Col. L. P. Grant, one of the most capable railroaders in the Union. The gentleman whose name is most identified with the Georgia Railroad is Hon. John P. King, once a United States Senator, and for forty years a real railroad monarch, able, far-seeing, public-spirited and influential. The genius of this powerful combination is William M. Wadley, a gentleman of iron force of character and a capacity for broad enterprises. Mr. Wadley is a large, noble looking man, with a face of singular benevolence of expression. He began in the humblest capacity on the Central Road. He has risen to a masterful pre-eminence through an individuality, unusually strong, simple and direct, with a vigorous positiveness of will, and far-reaching conceptions, and yet with a narrowed range of thought in some matters due to lack of early culture. He is a great-brained and indomitable man. His superb system, grasping the most vital railways of the State, connecting at Savannah with the Northern ports by a magnificent line of Ocean steamers, clutching the South Carolina seaport metropolis of Charleston, with its roads, holding a direct link with Alabama and Mississippi and the great West, is a monument to his consummate and sagacious audacity. Mr. Wadley builds solidly, and he is one of the Railway Kings, not only of Georgia but of the South.

The Macon and Brunswick Railroad was begun in 1859 and finished in 1869, costing four millions for the 196 miles, including the branch to Hawkinsville. Col. George H. Hazlehurst was the ruling spirit of this



enterprise, a charming gentleman, and an accomplished railway manager. This road, whose history is romantic in the extreme, is the corner stone of the famous Cole-Seney combination. The history of these colossal railway movements in Georgia is a glowing chapter of startling surprises, sudden, secret and overwhelming purchases on a gigantic scale, splendid demonstrations of individual management, and formidable coalitions of capital and genius. And connected with these dramatic audacities of railway enterprise, have been some touching episodes of personal strategy, success and disappointment. Col. E. W. Cole, long in charge of the Georgia Railroad, had while President of the Nashville and Chattanooga and St. Louis roads, conceived and carried out apparently a powerful scheme that gave him supremacy to the Georgia coast. In the very hour of success, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, under Victor Newcomb's daring young guidance, bought the Nashville and Chattanooga road, dethroned Cole and clutched his great scheme. It was like Sedan to Napoleon, seemingly, the end of an empire.

Col. Cole bore his downfall philosophically. He had in his long railroad career demonstrated abilities so conspicuous, judgment so sound, executive power so superlative, and a scope of conception so accurate and broad, that when he organized in a few days a plan covering a cash expenditure of sixteen millions of dollars, and gathering into a comprehensive and symmetrical chain the scattered links that railroaders had struggled with for years, the country gave to the indomitable Cole the acclaim due to his enterprise and genius. Taking Brunswick, Georgia, as his ocean terminus, he bought the Macon and Brunswick road, Selma, Rome and Dalton road, East Tennessee and Virginia road, leased the Memphis and Charleston road, and has thousands of hands building the gaps from Macon to Rome, through Atlanta. Baffled in leasing the Cincinnati Southern, he has perfected his scheme by securing connection with Norfolk and by Knoxville to Kentucky, and from Morristown to the Carolina roads. His associates are Mr. George I. Seney of the Metropolitan bank of New York, whose gifts to the Georgia colleges have so endeared him to the people of our State. The whole line of this combination includes 2,138 miles, penetrating the seven states of Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia, and represents fifty millions of dollars.

The Brunswick and Albany railroad, like the Macon and Brunswick road, a Georgia enterprise full of romantic eventfulness in its construction, begun before the war and finished since, a memento of the most tragic episode of Reconstruction, embroidered with the association of





over five million of fraudulent bonds, has been made the initial link of another vast railway scheme, known as the Erlanger syndicate of Frankfurt capitalists in Europe, represented by Mr. Fred Wolfe. This line extends from Brunswick, Ga., to New Orleans, and from New Orleans through Chattanooga to Cincinnati, and from New Orleans to Texas. It owns besides the Brunswick and Albany road, the Vicksburg and Shreveport, and the Vicksburg and Meridian, the Memphis, Holly Springs and Selma roads, and has leased the Cincinnati Southern. It has invested over twelve millions, and is building between three hundred and four hundred miles of new road. The Erlanger line embraces at present one thousand six hundred and thirty-one miles of road, worth forty millions of money, and it is still extending. It includes at present the following lines:

Cincinnati Southern, . . . . .	326 miles.
Alabama Southern, . . . . .	296 "
Meridian to Vicksburg, . . . . .	145 "
Vicksburg to Shreveport, . . . . .	196 "
Meridian to New Orleans, . . . . .	193 "
Eutaw to Memphis, . . . . .	175 "
Eutaw to Selma, . . . . .	52 "
Selma to Albany, . . . . .	163 "
Albany to Brunswick, . . . . .	85 "
Total, . . . . .	1,631 "

Mr. Wolfe has twenty-five millions to invest. Baron Erlanger, the head of the syndicate, is the husband of the daughter of John Slidell, Confederate Commissioner to Europe, captured on the British steamer Trent. To the historic fact of Slidell's embassy and the affectionate devotion of his daughter to the South, do we owe this enormous investment of capital, commencing in Georgia, in the railways of the South.

The Georgia Western Railroad, running from Atlanta into the inexhaustible coal fields of Alabama, has been a cherished project of Georgia enterprise for years. Starting and failing, organized and reorganized time and again, finally Gen. John B. Gordon caught up the unutilized and affluent opportunity, and has given it life. He and his brothers, E. C. Gordon, Walter Gordon and Gov. A. H. Colquitt, organized the Georgia Pacific Syndicate, with twelve and a half millions of capital, to build a line from Atlanta through Birmingham, Ala., to the Mississippi river. That rich and powerful syndicate, the Richmond and Danville, already owning the Air Line road in Georgia, has taken in the Georgia Pacific. This magnificent scheme covers the following roads:



Richmond to Danville, Va., . . . . .	140 miles.
Piedmont Railroad, Danville to Greensboro, N. C., . . . . .	49 "
North Carolina Railroad, Goldsboro via Greensboro to Charlotte, N. C., . . . . .	223 "
North-western North Carolina Railroad, Greensboro to Salem, N. C., . . . . .	29 "
Atlanta and Charlotte Air Line Railroad, Charlotte to Atlanta, Ga., . . . . .	269 "
N. & C. Narrow Gauge branches, . . . . .	70 "
Charlotte, Columbia and Augusta Railroad, Charlotte via Columbia to Augusta, Ga., . . . . .	191 "
Columbia and Greenville Railroad, Columbia to Greenville, . . . . .	143 "
C. & G. branches, . . . . .	85 "
Spartansburg, Union and Columbia Railroad, Alston to Spartansburg, S. C., . . . . .	68 "
Ashville and Spartansburg Railroad, Spartansburg to Hendersonville, N. C., . . . . .	48 "
Western North Carolina Railroad, Salisbury to W. F. Ashville, . . . . .	155 "
Virginia Midland Railroad, Alexandria to Danville, Va., . . . . .	233 "
Manassas Junction to Strasburg, Va., . . . . .	62 "
Franklin Junction to Roey Mount, (N. G.,) . . . . .	37 "
Orange C. H. to Gordonsville, Va., . . . . .	9 "
Warrenton Junction to Warrenton, Va., . . . . .	9 "
Richmond, York River and Chesapeake Railroad, . . . . .	39 "
North-eastern Railroad and Georgia, Athens to Lula, Ga., . . . . .	40 "
	<hr/>
	1,899 "

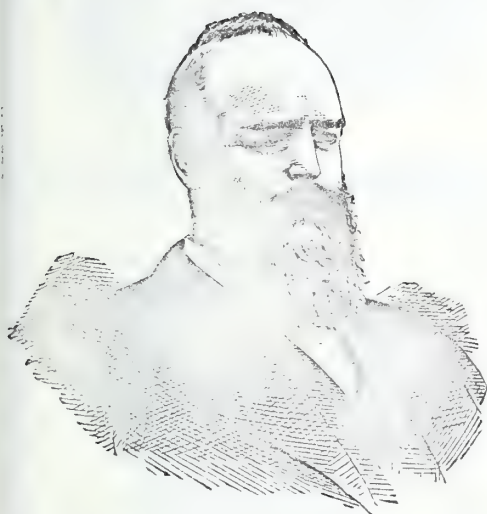
Add to this net-work of 1,895 miles the Georgia Pacific from Atlanta to Greenville, Miss., and Arkansas City, and its branches, of 500 miles, and we have the superb aggregate of 2,395 miles, worth seventy-five millions of dollars, with Atlanta and Richmond its centers. The President of the Richmond and Danville Company is N. S. Buford of Richmond; Vice Presidents, George W. Perkins of New York and A. Y. Hokes and T. M. Logan of Richmond, with T. M. R. Talcott as General Manager, A. Pope, General Agent, and R. Temple as the Chief Engineer. The Georgia Pacific remains under the Presidency of Gen. John B. Gordon.

We now come to the powerful combination, that seems to be invincible, spreading its strong tentacles ubiquitously, clutching new conquests with a giant's hand, preserving an acknowledged supremacy amid all the shifting changes of railway domination, and enlarging its colossal rule with a steady, irresistible force. Working in an impenetrable secrecy, its purposes are only discovered when successful. It in some way crushes rivalry, while it has a masterful capacity of beneficial coalition. The Louisville and Nashville combination is the mysterious and potential organization to which allusion is made. It inaugurated its first startling movement in invading Georgia and dethroning the irrepressible Cole. It is bound in a cordial alliance with Wadley's gigantic system in Georgia. It bought a majority interest in the Western and





*E. W. Cole*



*G. J. Foreman*



*Rev. M. M. Wadley*

GEORGIA'S

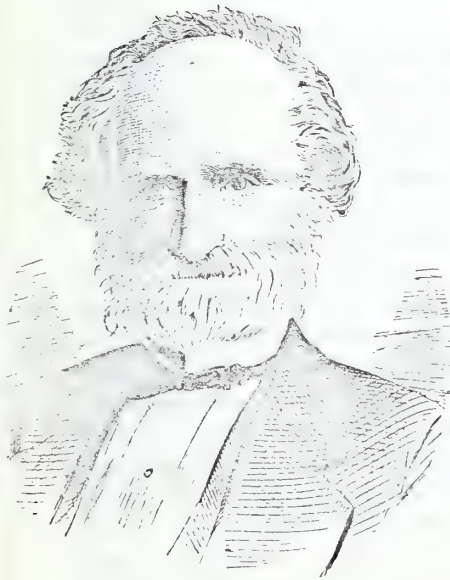




*L. P. Grish*



*B. P. Alexander*



*G. O. King*

RAILWAY MAGNATES.





Atlantic railroad, and but for the wily brain and firm nerve of Joseph E. Brown, whose forethought framed, and whose skillful management enforced, the provision in the law of the lease that kept the control of the road in the hands of the original lessees, and made a forfeiture of the lease the penalty of discrimination, this subtle and iron-handed corporation would have obtained the possession and guidance of this regnant little State road of ours. And it has been a curious piece of railway drama, that this steady, diminutive railway of 138 miles, planted in Northern Georgia, has held its imperial monopoly of power and business, firm amidst toppling syndicates, unaffected in a hurly-burly of vast changes and the war of massive schemes, making every one of the stupendous enterprises of thousands of miles of steel track, typifying millions of aggressive capital, pay tribute to its sovereignty. No rival has yet sprung into life, though King Cole is seemingly about to accomplish the achievement.

It is an interesting fact, that the active spirit of this colossal combination, the Louisville and Nashville, is our own brilliant young Georgian, Gen. E. P. Alexander, a noble officer of the South in the war, and now one of the railway magnates of the Union. He is carrying ably a vast responsibility. Wadley and Cole are nearing sixty years in age. Alexander is in the forties, and may well be called the young Napoleon of the railways. The Louisville and Nashville has over 3,300 miles of road, worth one hundred millions of dollars, covering the South and the West. An instance of its daring and watchfulness is shown in the following recent movement in Georgia.

In 1853, the Savannah, Albany and Gulf railroad was projected. Dr. John P. Screven was the master-spirit, and his son, Col. John Screven, succeeded him. The road was done to Thomasville, 200 miles, in 1861, and almost destroyed during the war, and rebuilt to Bainbridge, 236 miles, in 1867. It has branches, Dupont to Live Oak, forty-nine miles; Thomasville to Albany, fifty-eight miles; and the Waycross and Florida division from Tebeauville to Folkston, thirty-four miles, extending to Jacksonville. This road had a million dollar subscription from the State, and \$1,200,000 from Savannah. It is in the hands of a new company, and bears the name of the Savannah, Florida and Western railroad. The Louisville and Nashville road has, with its accustomed sagacity, combined with the Savannah, Florida and Western railroad, which extends its line to Chattahoochee, Florida, connecting with the Pensacola and Mobile road, now constructing by the Louisville and Nashville Company, and forming a direct and unbroken trunk line from



New York by Savannah to New Orleans. Thus does a Georgia line, starting from a Georgia seaport, afford the main Atlantic Southern outlet for another grand scheme. The Louisville and Nashville covers its shining tracks of steel from Norfolk to New Orleans by two routes, from Louisville to Pensacola, and from St. Louis to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean.

Again, Mr. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, is said to be seeking his own line from Danville, Va., through Spartansburg, S. C., to Atlanta, at a cost of ten millions of dollars. These colossal enterprises stagger the imagination, and yet they are realities. The whole tendency of railway management is to vast consolidation, which is now experiment. It remains to be seen whether the huge net-works of railway will prove homogeneous and successful systems, or loosely knit schemes, heterogeneous and inharmonious. One thing is certain, and that is that in the face of these sweeping systems, State railroad commissions, governing isolated links of great chains, must be powerless to regulate them, especially in the absence of a uniformity of policy in the States. It looks as if a National commission must ultimately be a necessity.

It is another evident contingency of this consolidating phase of railroadism, that the still larger combinations of the North and West may be expected to have an eye to the South, sooner or later, and with their illimitable capital and herculean enterprise, we may look for disarrangements of our Southern syndicates. Jay Gould has 12,000 miles of railway, from New York to California and Mexico. Railroads are secured by purchase of a bare majority of their stock. When it becomes to the interest of Gould or Vanderbilt, in the rushing development of Georgia and its enhanced value in a commercial view, to turn a longing eye here, we may not unreasonably anticipate a flutter and displacement of our present syndicates.

Be this as it may, Georgia to-day occupies a position unparalleled in the Union. Ten thousand miles of railway corporations, aggregating 300 millions of money, are pouring capital into and seeking control of Georgia commerce. Between twenty and twenty-five millions of capital from the North are being invested in railways in Georgia to perfect grand schemes. In every part of the State new iron pathways, besides those long lines already mentioned, are opening up the counties to the march of progress. The Marietta and North Georgia railroad, twenty-four miles from Marietta to Canton, is building on to the Carolina border. The North-eastern road, thirty-nine miles from Athens to Lula,



is swiftly extending; a road from Gainesville to Dahlonga is in process of construction; from Arlington to Blakely in Early county, the link is almost done; the North and South road from Columbus to Hamilton is booked for Lagrange; the Augusta and Knoxville road has its fourteen miles built in Georgia, and is going on; innumerable charters have been granted; Atlanta and Alabama, Rome and Chattanooga, Richmond county railroad, Rome and Lagrange, Cumming and Suwannee, Buena Vista road, Logansville road, Rome and Carrollton, Kingston and Gainesville, Tennille and Wrightsville, Covington and Ocmulgee, Covington and North Georgia, Covington and South River, Hawkinsville and Florida, Jeffersonville and Southern, Belt road, Cleveland and Lulu railroads.

It would not be proper to conclude reference to our Georgia railroads without some allusion to its fine array of Superintendents, men of superior capacity and character. Among these are Mr. Raoul, Mr. Wm. Rogers and W. F. Shellman of the Central, Gen. Wm. McRae of the State road, Col. H. S. Haines of the Savannah, Florida and Western, Mr. I. Y. Sage of the Air Line, Mr. John Green of the Georgia, and Mr. J. M. Edwards of the Macon & Brunswick. A change has been just made in the Railroad Commission, Col. N. C. Barnett retiring, and Col. L. N. Trammell taking his place. Col. Barnett filled the place well. Col. Trammell has all the qualities to make a superior Commissioner. He brings to the high duties a splendid practicality, ambition to serve the public interest, and natural diplomacy.

The resources of Georgia are not fully known. The Geological survey, so well conducted for five years by Dr. George Little, still incomplete, presents such an exhibition of varied wealth, even in its partial execution, as places our commonwealth foremost in its transcendent natural advantages.

The results of the survey have been: 1st, a collection of ten thousand specimens of minerals, rocks, ores, fossils, plants and woods, representing every county in the State, arranged in geographical position, so that any one may walk through the room on county lines and see samples of everything which would be seen by traveling over the whole State.

2. A topographical map of the State, half completed, showing the county lines as now established by law, county towns, villages, post-offices, churches, schools, mills and roads.

3. A geological map of the State, showing the different formations and periods in its history, and the mines in operation.





4. A hypsometric map showing the elevations from tide water to 4,811 feet on the Blue Ridge.

5. A map showing the river systems and drainage areas.

6. County maps of Dade, Walker, Catoosa, Chattooga, Murray, Whitfield, Gordon, Bartow, Floyd, Polk, Cobb, Fulton, Hall and Habersham, and of the Okefenokee Swamp, embracing portions of Clinch, Ware and Charlton counties.

7. A map of the Ocmulgee River, from Covington to Macon, showing all the sites for manufactories in a distance of seventy miles, with an aggregate fall of 400 feet, with an atlas representing the topography of the separate falls.

8. A map of North-West Georgia with two sections, showing the geological features from the North-west corner of the State to the line of metamorphic rocks, in Bartow county.

9. Unfinished maps of the counties in the western half of the State, for which all the data have been collected on sectional maps.

10. Gold mines have been put in successful operation in Rabun, Towns, Union, Fannin, Gilmer, Pickens, Cherokee, Cobb, Paulding, Haralson, Dawson, Lumpkin, White, Hall, Habersham, Lincoln, Oglethorpe and Meriwether. In 1874 there were twenty-five stamps in Lumpkin; in 1881, 425. The 400 increase represent about 400,000 dollars of investment of capital.

11. Copper has been worked by the Hunt & Douglas process, in Haralson county.

12. Lead has been mined in Lincoln county.

13. Manganese mines have been opened in Polk, Floyd and Bartow. From the last \$60,000 worth was shipped during the last year.

14. Iron mines have been opened, and large shipments made, from Bartow and Polk and Dade counties, and over 100 miles of outcrop of fossiliferous iron ore located in Dade, Walker and Chattooga counties.

15. Coal has been mapped over a territory of 175 square miles.

16. Soapstone is now worked into blocks for furnaces and kilns and stoves, in Atlanta, from the mines in Cherokee.

17. The largest acid chambers in America have been built at Atlanta, for the manufacture of sulphuric acid and the mills for production of acid phosphates. These form the basis for the fertilizers, of which Georgia consumed last year \$5,000,000 worth.

18. The North-eastern railroad is well under way to reach the gold, asbestos, serpentine and corundum of North-east Georgia.

19. The Marietta and North Georgia railroad is moving toward



the iron, marble, mica, graphite, tale, soapstone and gold of North Georgia.

20. The Georgia Pacific is building to the gold, copper, magnetic iron, asbestos, mica and corundum of West Georgia, the coal-fields of Alabama, and the cotton belt of the Mississippi.

21. Georgia has taken the first rank of the Southern States, from the publication of its resources for mining, manufacturing and agriculture, its climate, health resorts, mineral waters, timber and variety of soils.

Up to this time there have been collected and placed in the geological rooms, at the State Capitol, carefully labeled with the name of the owner, and the number of the lot, district and section, and arranged by counties: Asbestos from nine counties; Barite or Heavy Spa, two; Buhrstone or Mill Rock, twenty-seven; Chrome for paints, two; Coal, three; Copper, twelve; Corundum for Emery wheels, six; Diamond, one; Graphite or black lead, ten; Granite for building, forty-five; Glass sand, two; Green sand, fertilizer, four; Grindstone and Whetstone, four; Gold ores, sixty-one; Gypsum, land plaster, two; Hydraulic Cement, two; Iron ores, seventy-one; Iron Pyrites (sulphur), seven; Kaolin, for china ware, eleven; Lead ore, eight; Lignite, fuel, four; Limestone, forty-eight; Manganese, fifteen; Marble, six; Marl, fertilizer, twenty-two; Mica, eleven; Nickel, one; Nitre, two; Peat, four; Quartz (opal, amethyst), forty-six; Slate, roofing, four; Soapstone, twenty-two; Serpentine, mantels, etc., eleven; Rutile, seven; Zinc ore, two.

The following counties have minerals as follows: *Rabun*, Gold, Asbestos, Serpentine; *Towns*, Gold, Copper, Corundum; *Union*, Gold, Mica; *Fannin*, Gold, Copper, Iron, Marble, Tale; *Gilmer*, Gold, Copper, Iron, Marble, Soapstone; *Pickens*, Gold, Iron, Mica, Marble, Graphite; *Cherokee*, Gold, Copper, Iron, Mica, Soapstone; *Milton*, Gold, Iron; *Forsyth*, Gold; *Dawson*, Gold, Corundum; *Lumpkin*, Gold, Copper, Iron; *White*, Gold, Asbestos, Diamond; *Habersham*, Gold, Iron, Asbestos; *Hull*, Gold, Lead, Iron, Mica, Asbestos; *Dade*, Iron, Coal, Fire-clay, Holloysite; *Walker*, Iron, Coal, Marble; *Catoosa*, Iron, Marble, Limestone.

We have now in Georgia fifty gold mills with 500 stamps, the machinery worth \$500,000; one copper mine, \$50,000; one Sulphuric Acid factory, \$200,000; one Soapstone mill, \$10,000; one Asbestos mine, \$10,000; one Manganese mill, \$100,000; eighteen Iron Furnaces, \$2,000,000; one Lead mine, \$1,000,000; one Corundum mine, \$10,000; one Mica mine,



\$5,000; Lime Kilns, \$20,000; one Ferro-Manganese Furnace, \$10,000; aggregating four millions dollars of mineral establishments. Georgia has grown from the production of 9,634 tons of iron in 1870 to 35,152 tons in 1880.

The State of Georgia has the honor of being the first State in the Union to organize a Department of Agriculture, presided over by a Commissioner charged with the administration of the office, untrammelled by an advisory board.

The administration of the Department throughout, and especially by Hon. J. T. Henderson, has been vigorous and profitable to the State by educating the farmers through many valuable publications, by increasing production and elevating the pursuit of agriculture. It contributed too, more largely than any other instrumentality, to the advertisement of the resources of Georgia, and to the enhancement of her reputation abroad. It is a source of gratification to Georgians, when traveling in other states of the Union, to hear the encomiums passed upon their State, and especially upon the work of their Department of Agriculture.

The commissioner has control of the inspection and analysis of commercial fertilizers, and by the thorough system of supervision the farmer is very thoroughly protected from loss, by the purchase of spurious goods.

The fee for the inspection of fertilizers is fifty cents per ton. The State derived during the last season the sum of \$64,060.23 in revenue from this source. Previous to 1877, the inspectors received the fees as compensation for their services.

Under the law of 1877, the inspectors receive salaries and the fees are paid into the treasury. Since that time nearly \$200,000 have been paid into the treasury, in fees for inspection, or \$100,000 more than the Department of Agriculture has cost since its organization.

The influence of the publications of the department have exerted a silent, yet decided influence on the agriculture of the State, which has been overlooked by many, but which has not failed to impress itself upon the observant of this as well as other states of the Union—nor has this influence been confined to Georgia, but has been felt for good in adjacent states. The manuals on *Sheep-husbandry*, the *Hog*, on Cattle, Farmers Scientific Manual, the Hand-book of Georgia, Manual of Georgia, the reports of the soil-tests of commercial fertilizers in the different sections of the State—the crop reports—indeed all of the publications issued by the department, have exerted a most salutary influence upon the productive industries of the State, by supplying a





vast amount of useful information to the tillers of the soil, which they have not failed to turn to practical account.

A few facts and figures in this connection will serve to illustrate some of the beneficial effects of the work of this Farmers' Department conducted by farmers in the interest of farmers. The production of oats in the State in 1870 was, according to the census, 1,904,601 bushels. The census of 1880 shows a production of 5,544,161 bushels, on 612,350 acres. This increase has been induced, in the main, through the agency of the publications of the Department, which informed the farmers in every section and county of the State as to the varieties which had given best results. The influence of the information in regard to the Rust Proof variety of Oats, published by the Department, has been most marked.

The influence of the Department in inculcating correct ideas in regard to the use of commercial fertilizers, has been decisive in the increase in cotton production. According to the census of 1870, the Cotton Crop of the State was 473,934 bales, while the census of 1880 shows a production of 814,398 bales, upon 2,617,138 acres, aggregating 193,430 tons of lint cotton, and 386,859 tons of cotton seed. This increase in cotton production has not been accompanied by a reduction in grain. On the contrary, besides the increase in oats already mentioned, the last census shows that Georgia produced 5,544,013 more bushels of corn in 1879 than in 1869. The census reports of 1880 reveal the complimentary fact that Georgia stands the second State in the Union in the total production of cotton, a fact due to "better cultivation of the soil, the use of fertilizers and the thrift of an industrious population." It has been a remarkable fact in the cotton production of Georgia, that the use of the commercial fertilizer has made Northern Georgia a large cotton-producing section by hastening the seasons.

Georgia, in her versatility of climate and soil, is adapted for every variety of fruit, and is making rapid progress in fruit culture. The raising of early fruits and vegetables for the Northern and Western markets, is becoming a vast business. Judge Cunningham, of Atlanta, is the leader in the fruit industry. He has the largest orchard in the South, 60,000 trees covering nearly 600 acres. The first peaches bring thirty-five dollars a bushel in the New York market.

The range of production in Georgia is very wide and varied. Sea Island cotton, rice, sugar and tropical fruits, in the Southern part; cotton, corn, fruit and the cereals all over the State; and grasses and clovers in the middle and Northern parts, afford any kind of farming,





that any one can desire. The vast pine forests in the lower portion have supplied an immense and growing lumber and turpentine trade. The tea production has been proven a success, offering an illimitable source of wealth with the proper labor.

Some remarkable cases of productive fertility have been shown. Mr. R. H. Hardaway, in Thomas county, raised 117 bushels of corn to the acre; Mr. S. W. Leak, of Spalding county, has obtained 40 $\frac{1}{4}$  bushels of wheat on an acre; Mr. J. F. Madden, in the same county, raised 137 bushels of oats; Mr. T. C. Warthen, of Washington county, five bales of cotton; Mr. J. R. Winters, of Cobb county, over three tons of clover hay; Dr. T. P. Janes, of Green county, five tons of clover hay; Mr. R. Peters, Jr., of Gordon county, nearly five tons of Lucerne hay; Dr. W. Moody, of Greene county, seven tons of Bermuda hay; Mr. John Dyer, of Bibb county, 398 bushels of sweet potatoes; Dr. J. S. Lavender, 1552 bushels of turnips in Pike county, on one acre. These are fine results, and show alike the fertility of the soil, and the excellence of the farming.

In stock raising, Georgia has the best capacities, and has achieved good results. The Jersey cattle are taking strong and general hold on our people. Col. Richard Peters, of Atlanta, has been the leader in the introduction of stock. He has experimented in every variety of thoroughbred cattle and hogs. He has tried Devon, Ayrshire, Brahma, Durham and Jersey cattle, settling down finally upon the Jersey breed, the Merino sheep and the Angora goats. Col. W. B. Cox has made a specialty of Jerseys, and also Mr. Rhode Hill, Judge John L. Hopkins, and Mr. J. B. Wade, and others.

The water powers of Georgia are almost innumerable, covering three-fourths of our counties. There are mineral springs of strong potency in 23 counties. The development of cotton manufactures is progressing with a giant stride. The manufacture of cotton where it is grown is an idea that is seizing the world, it has proven so profitable. In Augusta 170,000 spindles are running, and the profit for eleven years of one mill, has been 18 per cent. The Eagle and Phenix mills of Columbus, in 1870 used 1927 bales, and in 1880, 19,000, and have made 25 per cent. profit. The following figures taken from an article in the *Savannah News* will tell the tale of our manufactures:

"There are two classes of factories in our State—those exempt from taxation for a certain period, and those which pay taxes annually to the Comptroller General. Through the courtesy of Robert U. Hardeman, Esq., the able chief of this department of the Comptroller's office, we have verified our figures, as far as such a thing was possible



Of the taxable factories, Bibb county has invested within her borders \$77,500, Brooks \$13,955, Clarke \$260,000, Cobb \$156,750, Coweta \$7,500, Decatur \$5,000, Early \$6,500, Greene \$52,000, Hancock \$10,800, Harris \$75,000, Hart \$6,000, Houston \$25,000, Muscogee \$501,565, Newton \$15,500, Pulaski \$6,000, Richmond \$546,000, Taylor \$11,000, Troup \$40,000, Upson \$45,000, Walton \$56,000, Warren \$30,000, making a total of \$1,966,070. Of the non-taxable corporations Cobb county has invested \$53,000, Chattooga \$225,000, Coweta \$75,000, Chatham \$100,000, Cherokee \$16,000, Bibb \$70,000, Brooks \$30,000, Bartow \$49,000, Early \$57,000, Fulton \$286,000, Muscogee \$500,000, Pickens \$15,000, Richmond \$1,700,000, making a total of \$3,176,000, and a grand total of \$5,142,070. This, however, does not include the splendid new cotton factories under construction at Augusta, in Richmond county, which, when fully completed and put in operation, will add over \$2,000,000 to the foregoing grand total."

These are marvelous figures.

The policy of running small well-tilled farms in the place of the baronial plantations is becoming engrafted beneficially upon our husbandry. From 1868 to 1873 our small farms had increased 32,824, and now the enlargement will number 138,626, of which 76,451 are owned, and the balance rented. Only 3,491 are 1,000 acres and over; 7,017 of 500 acres to 1,000; 53,635 of 100 to 500; 26,059 of 50 to 100; 36,524 of 20 to 50; 8,694 of 10 to 20; 3,110 of 3 to 10; and 101 under 3 acres. Georgia has more farms than any Southern State. The colored people have become thrifty and own 680,000 acres of land. The farmers must generally adopt the policy of raising provisions and making cotton a surplus crop, and then with the multiplication of manufacturers we shall see an era of prosperity that can not be measured.

In free education the State is marching apace with the age. Prof. J. G. Orr, the State School Commissioner, has done a noble work.

The attendance since the inauguration of the school system in 1871, exhibits the gratifying fact of a steady growth of the system in each year. In 1871, white pupils, 42,914; colored, 6,664; total, 49,578. In 1873, white, 63,922; colored, 19,755; total, 83,677; increase, 34,099. In 1874, white, 93,167; colored, 42,374; total, 135,541; increase, 51,864. In 1875, white, 105,990; colored, 50,358; total, 156,394; increase, 20,808. In 1876, white, 121,418; colored, 57,987; total, 179,405; increase, 23,011. In 1877, white, 128,296; colored, 62,330; total, 190,626; increase, 11,211. In 1878, white, 137,217; colored, 72,655; total, 209,872; increase, 19,246. The total number of children of school age is 433,444.

Cities and towns have local school laws, paying \$200,000. With the State school fund the sum of \$600,000 is paid for free schooling. The State gives an endowment of \$10,000 to the State University at Athens, and \$8,000 to the colored college at Atlanta. The State University and



its branches at Dahlonega, Milledgeville, Cuthbert, and Thomasville, educate free in the highest college curriculum over 2,000 pupils. We have flourishing denominational and private schools and colleges. Mr. Geo. I. Seney of New York, deserves a large share of State gratitude and appreciation for \$100,000 donation to Emory College at Covington, and \$70,000 to Wesleyan Female College at Macon. The State is especially affluent in Female Colleges. Wesleyan, at Macon, is the first Female College that was established in the world. The Southern Masonic Female College at Covington, Catholic Pio Nono College at Macon, Rome Female College, Rome Cherokee Baptist Female College, Houston Female College at Perry, Martin Institute at Jefferson, Conyers Female College, Collingsworth Institute, Levert Female College at Talbotton, Southern Female College at La Grange, West Point Female College, and two Female Colleges at Dalton, are among our prosperous seminaries of learning.

The following succinct and condensed statement of the advantages of Georgia was made by Hon. Joseph E. Brown, and gives an admirable recapitulation of our great State:

"The climate is genial and healthy, with every variety to suit the preferences of the immigrant, whatever may be his intended pursuit. If he desires to raise rice, sea island cotton and semi-tropical fruits, including the orange, and have fish in abundance, or desires to engage in the culture of early vegetables and fruits for Northern consumption, he can find a suitable location upon her southern coasts or islands. If he desires to engage extensively in the lumber business, there is no better field open to him in the world. In connection with this, he can make turpentine and naval stores to any extent that his capital and enterprise may justify. If he desires to raise cotton, and produce the cereals necessary for his own use, there is no better field than Middle and Southern Georgia. If he desires to embark in sheep husbandry or the raising of cattle, he can do so with great success in all the wire grass section of the State, where they winter themselves upon the spontaneous productions of the earth. If he wishes to make sugar and syrup for his own use, and even for market, South Georgia affords him an ample field. If he wishes to cultivate clover and the other grasses, with corn, wheat, oats and cotton, the rich valleys of upper Georgia hold out a most inviting prospect. If he wishes to raise the apple and other fruits of the higher latitudes, the high table and mountain lands of North-eastern Georgia afford him an ample field with liberal remuneration. If he wants to engage in the culture of potatoes and vegetables in common use, he can find a suitable location in almost any part of the State. If he wants a healthy retreat in the heat of summer he can find among the mountains of North-east Georgia localities where the buds scarcely begin to swell before the first days of June, and where he will need fire in his room every night in the year. If he wants to engage in the manufacture of cotton, water power of the best kind abounds without limit, and he will never be interrupted a day during the year by the streams being frozen over with ice, or if he prefers the use of steam power, he can have that in the upper part of the State, near the coal mines, as cheap as he can have it anywhere in the Union. And if





his tastes or his training lead him into the business of merchandising, Atlanta, Savannah and other centers of the State extend to him an inviting field and a cordial invitation. In a word, we offer to the immigrant of every country and of every calling or pursuit a cordial welcome and an inviting field of operations, where industry, energy and economy soon lead not only to competency, but to the accumulation and possession of large wealth.

The year 1881 will be a memorable one in Georgia annals in marking the most momentous and far-reaching event of her extraordinary material progress. It has at one single step placed her indisputably among the foremost states of the Union and the leader of the South. It has strikingly worked out her "manifest destiny" of supremacy. The INTERNATIONAL COTTON EXPOSITION, the first WORLD'S FAIR in the South, was opened on the 5th day of October, 1881, with imposing ceremonies. In its significance and results it was a massive occurrence. An immense crowd witnessed the pageant. The Right Rev. Bishop Robert W. Elliott, son of Bishop Stephen Elliott, one of the most gifted and pious divines of Georgia, opened the ceremonies with a beautiful prayer. The Director-General, H. I. Kimball, gave a brief history of the enterprise, and presented the Exposition to the public. Gov. A. H. Colquitt, the President of the Exposition, formally received the Exposition in a brief address of fervent eloquence. Succinctly alluding to the financial and material purposes of the project, he broadened its inspiration in these noble words, which evoked deafening applause:

"While material objects and results have been wisely considered in this exposition, for one, I feel sure that the noble and beneficent impulse of this enterprise is to draw the people of every section of this great country nearer and more firmly together, and closer to each other's hearts. The idea that has run like a thread of light through every measure and labor of this enterprise is, that all sections or portions of this vast country are truly, essentially, virtually parts of it. You, gentlemen, propose to encircle in the warm embrace of your fraternal love our fellow-citizens of every state, and to unify the spirit of our common country. A sublimer work was never designed or attempted by mortal agency. \* \* Let the good work prosper and go on. Let the ministering spirit of peace and good will, with strong pinion, take the sweep of this vast heritage of ours, and may every patriot feel that in the house of our Father, we cherish one heart, one hope, one destiny."

U. S. Senator, Z. B. Vance, of North Carolina, followed in an exquisite little speech. His tribute to Cotton was poetic. Designating it as the "infant heir of the blood royal to the empire of trade," he continued in these beautiful words:

"The merchant in the distant city listens for tidings of its coming up; the manufacturer amid his brick walls and tall chimneys anxiously observes its bloom; the restless



speculator gazes upon its opening bolls; the mariner, with his broad sails flapping idly against his masts, waits for its maturing—and the poor everywhere pray for the gentle shower and the soft sunlight on which it feeds, and rejoice at its safe ingathering.

"Its growth is the idyllic poem of our people—its mature existence is a system of political economy. It is the source of the hoarse shout of the steam engine; it is the melody of the soft song of the spindle and the loom; it is the fairy of the waterfall; it is warmth, it is comfort, it is beauty. It is the pride of our fields, the source of our wealth, the king of our commerce."

Mr. Vance gave this soulful Southern welcome, the characteristic outflow of the sunny hospitality of our people:

"Farmers, merchants, manufacturers, miners, carriers, laboring men and men of letters, the great army of civilizers and supporters of progress and free government, the men of the press, strangers and lookers-on, countrymen and countrywomen, we welcome you all. To every one present, or to come, we extend a Southern welcome, warm as our sunshine, and bid him behold what can be done by a land whose fields were but yesterday 'kneaded into bloody sods by the maddening wheels of artillery,' whose beasts of burden were swept away by devastating armies, whose noblest sons were slaughtered in battle, whose homes were burned with fire, and whose governments have passed through an era of corruption worse than anarchy. We invite you with pride to witness these conclusive tests of the genial nature of our climate, the fertility of our soil, the energy of our people, the conservative vitality of our political institutions; in short, we invite you to see that we have renewed our youth at the fountains of industry and found the hills of gold in the energies of an imperishable race.

"To every human soul from all the broad domains of Christendom, which may have one desire to promote the happiness and stimulate the progress of our race, which can add one voice in praise of the triumphs of peace, we say welcome, in God's name, to the hearts and homes of this Southern land."

The response to this was given by U. S. Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana, in a speech of eloquence and statesmanship, holding the immense gathering upon his stately utterances for one hour and a half. This address elaborately recounted the history and triumphs of Cotton. The whole speech was a great one. There were expressions in it of noble import, and a broad grasp of inspired prophecy. The paragraphs following deserve perpetuation:

"This is a world of compensations, and it seems to me that for the sorrows of the past we are now standing in the dawn of a better day than American history has ever known, and that the splendor of its unclouded sun will soon break over our heads. Sir, the South enters the arena to contend, for the first time, for the supremacy in all the industrial pursuits. She comes with the light of youth and hope in her face, her eyes no longer red with weeping, and every patriotic heart in the North salutes her here on these grounds with a fraternal embrace. This is a field of peaceful strife over which the angels in heaven have joy. The South and the North meet here with one language, one territory, one government, one allegiance, one flag and one heart for the prosperity of all. Those whom God hath thus joined together let no man seek to alienate or put asunder!



"The relations which the southern states bear to the great questions of production and manufacture are of vital and overshadowing importance. Here stretches that mighty cotton belt which startled and revolutionized the trade of the world less than a century ago; whose fields, with their tinted blossoms, are richer and more valuable to mankind than all the mines of gold and diamond fields of the earth. It was once thought that the cotton plantation was dependent upon a certain system of labor. The rapidly increasing production of cotton during the last fifteen years has, to the joy of the world, exploded that error. It is the creature of intelligent industry by whomsoever bestowed. It invites the labor of every na'ivity and color, and remunerates them all.

"There is such a thing as fair play in the history of a people, and the time has now come for the south, in my opinion, to enjoy its fruits. There is a gigantic double profit within your reach if you will put forth your hands and take it. The profit of the producer you already have; the profit of the manufacturer—which enriches nations—is yours to command; it awaits your call, and if I mistake not the meaning of this day, the call has been made. Be assured that it will be answered. It is my fond hope and belief that he who is living twenty-five years hence will behold the transfiguration of the south. New industries, incoming capital, and teeming populations are in store for her future. The cotton belt proper, extending from North Carolina to Texas, will be studded with gems more resplendent than ever shone on the belts or diadem of royalty. Along the banks of southern streams, inlets and bays, new cities and villages will arise, sending to all the markets of the world the manufactured productions of the neighboring plains.

"The Creator has here spread His amplest bounties for the human race, and the south now for the first time, with the authority of circumstance and ceremony, invites the capital and labor of the world to assist in their development. Throughout all this vast extent of country, the capabilities of the south for cotton-raising and for manufacturing her own productions are practically without limit. There are young men and women now listening to me, who will as certainly behold a crop of twenty million bales in the future, as they have seen one of five millions in the past. And they will with the same certainty, behold the purchasers of the whole world coming here, not only for their supply of the raw material, but also for manufactured goods in such quantities as to rule all markets, foreign and domestic. Such is the great and puissant future which I foresee for the South, springing forward, as she now is, to grasp all the improvements, the inventions, and the progression of the present age, and all the benefits and blessings of her government.

"Sir, I come from the North-west, and I bring to you the hail of hope, good cheer, and American brotherhood from every true and manly heart in all that mighty region. A few moments more and the first world's fair on southern soil will begin its three months' career. All the nations will take note of the experiment. Your brethren of the East, of the North and of the West are looking on, hoping all things and believing all things favorable to its success. After a little while it will take its place in history, and from that point may a new era of national prosperity be opened before the American people, and may they be inspired with new and lasting affection for each other."

The ceremonies closed with a fitting poem by Paul H. Hayne, read by Col. N. J. Hammond,—a rare tribute to Atlanta, whose irrepressible enterprise has made this august achievement a success. The concep-





tion of an International Cotton Exposition belongs to Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, Mass., and the original idea was to combine in one great display, every conceivable form of cotton production, manufacture and invention. This idea was soon enlarged, and the Exposition was broadened into a World's Fair. There was much competition for the Exposition between southern cities, and some very strong inducements held out, but Atlanta won it. On the 25th of February, 1881, the first meeting of business men was held in Atlanta, and a temporary organization was effected. A charter was procured and a permanent organization effected on the 16th of April. The enterprise was placed in the hands of an executive committee of 29 members. The committee was composed as follows:

H. I. KIMBALL, CHAIRMAN, . . . . .	Atlanta.
B. E. CRANE, CHAIRMAN, <i>pro tem.</i> . . . .	Atlanta.
Joseph E. Brown, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	B. F. Abbott, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
S. M. Inman, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	T. G. Healey, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
J. W. Ryckman, . . . . . Philadelphia, Pa.	W. C. Neff, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
R. J. Lowry, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	Jno. L. Hopkins, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
R. F. Maddox, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	Jno. T. Henderson, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
W. A. Moore, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	J. F. Cummings, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
M. C. Kiser, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	Jas. R. Wylie, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
L. P. Grant, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	J. C. Peck, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
Jno. A. Fitten, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	E. P. Chamberlin, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.
R. D. Spalding, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	Edward Atkinson, . . . . . Boston, Mass.
Richard Peters, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	Cyrus Bussey, . . . . . New Orleans, La.
E. P. Howell, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	Richard Garsed, . . . . . Philadelphia, Pa.
Sidney Root, . . . . . Atlanta, Ga.	Jno. H. Inman, . . . . . New York.
J. W. Paramore, . . . . .	St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. H. I. Kimball was made Director-General, and Mr. J. W. Ryckman, editor of the *Textile Record*, the Secretary. The first President of the convention was Joseph E. Brown. He resigned on account of family affliction, and Gov. Alfred H. Colquitt was made the President. Mr. Kimball has an uncommon talent for enterprises of this kind, possessing energy, inventiveness and administrative faculty. Mr. Ryckman has been the right man in a responsible place. The committee has proven to be a body of extraordinary management. Mr. Kimball visited the North and West, and Hon. Thomas Hardeman the South and West, in the interest of the Exposition, addressing the Boards of Trade of the leading cities, and securing some \$200,000 of subscriptions to the enterprise. The interest in it was general and profound. Business men took hold of it eagerly. Dr. H. V. M. Miller was sent to Europe as agent of the Exposition.

Perhaps never, in the history of such enterprises, has there been anything to equal this one in the rapidity and completeness of its execution.





It is an unequaled monument of bold and immense business skill and energy. On the 30th of May, 1881, the contract was signed for the main building, which had been enlarged four-fold beyond the original size to suit the enlarged demand. On the 1st of June, ground was first broken, and in 108 days, to the 5th of October, 1881, when the Exposition was opened, buildings have been erected, furnishing twenty acres of exhibition space, eleven miles in circumference, using eight million feet of lumber, five miles of sewerage pipe and six miles of steam pipe. Beautiful grounds have been created. An hotel for the accommodation of 1,000 guests has been erected at the grounds.

The work done has been simply amazing. Over 2,000 exhibitors have sought space, and hundreds have been refused. Every kind of business is represented. Some exhibitors have expended \$35,000 on their displays. The varied exhibition of general industries is complete. In executing the chief idea of the Exposition, the show of cotton, textile machinery, and the hundreds of appliances and processes that have grown out of the great staple all over the world, is something phenomenal. Seed of every kind of cotton grown in the world were obtained by telegraphic order by Mr. S. M. Inman, the Treasurer of the Exposition, and are planted and growing in the same field. There is cotton from India, from Hindoostan, from China, from Japan, from Australia, the North coast of Africa, Brazil, Chili, and the South Sea Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, Mexico, Central America, Bombay, and every other climate in which the cotton plant has ever been grown. Each plant preserves its characteristics admirably, and side by side may be seen cotton with the perfectly red flower growing ten feet high, and the stalks, with perfectly blue flowers, growing less than two feet high. There is the queer Chinese cotton with a pinched, contracted look that marks everything that comes from that country; the Peruvian cotton, with its flowers of Indigo and its small bolls; the Indian cotton, with its tropical appearance, but imperfect fruitage, and all of them with their various marks crowned by a few rows of our own, king of them all. Cognate to this, and a part of the same exhibition are bales and bags, and packages of cotton received from every country, in which cotton is handled, packed, or baled in the manner peculiar to each country. This exhibition of itself is a wonderful one, and shows that while the South may be ahead of all other sections in growing cotton, that there are older, if not wiser people, who know how to pack it better.

The display of cotton machinery is complete and instructive. Every process of manufacture is practically shown, and the aggregate in-



ventions of this keen-witted age are grouped together in the beneficent collision of peaceful rivalry for the benefit of all peoples and countries.

Among the most picturesque demonstrations, are those made by the great railroad systems, of the woods, minerals and agricultural productions of the country on their lines of track. States have made similar displays of their resources. It is impossible to enumerate the extent of this stupendous exhibition. It includes the commerce and manufactures of the world. Throngs of people are swarming to the Exposition, giving the supplement of a vast attendance to the supreme achievement. The problem of entertaining thousands of visitors in a city of 40,000 inhabitants, has been a critical one, but it has been nobly solved by hospitably throwing open the homes of the indomitable little metropolis to the inundation of welcome guests.

Reviewing the past of Georgia, impartially estimating her present importance and power, it requires no strain upon the imagination to lay down for her a great future. She seems to have been selected for unusual achievement. Her history glitters with incidents of moral and intellectual supremacy, some of them valuable and important, and freighted with associations of renown and humanitarian utility.

Georgia was the first and only free and anti-slave colony in America, and continued thus for a number of years, until the superior growth of the slave colonies around her necessitated a change. Her code of laws of 1799 was so wise and symmetrical that it was engrafted upon the hoary and venerable body of English jurisprudence. The first steamship that ever crossed the ocean sailed from Savannah, an instrumentality that has revolutionized the international commerce of the world. The first female college in the world, the Wesleyan Female College, was established at Macon, Georgia. The Cotton Gin, that omnipotent weapon of human benefit was invented in 1793, by Eli Whitney, near Savannah, on the plantation of Gen. Greene of revolutionary fame. And it is a fateful coincidence that our great International Cotton Exposition, the first of the world, now progressing in Atlanta, should be on Georgia soil, and the outcome of that wonderful invention of nearly a century ago that here found birth.

The first sewing machine was invented by a Georgian, Rev. F. R. Goulding, author of the "Young Marooners." The archives of the Georgia State Executive Department contain a letter written by James Longstreet, father of A. B. Longstreet, author of "Georgia Scenes," in 1793, to Edward Telfair, Governor of Georgia, asking his help to



equip the steamboat that he had invented, thus establishing Georgia's claim to the first invention of this benefaction.

The State has witnessed another incalculable contribution to the world's great benefits in the discovery, by Dr. Crawford W. Long, a native of Athens, Ga., of ANÆSTHESIA, in 1842, who thereby takes rank among the benefactors of mankind. Science and humanity have determined that the two greatest boons conferred on mankind were vaccination and Anæsthesia. England gave the one and Georgia the other. The portrait of Dr. Long was presented to the State of Georgia by Mr. Stuart, and formally received by the General Assembly, and it now hangs in the Representative Chamber, in the State House in Atlanta, among the historic pictures of our distinguished men.

The four years before the war of 1861, the increase in the taxable wealth of Georgia was 176 millions of dollars, an astounding fact. In the slavery agitation preceding the war, Georgia was the leading instrumentality, and to Robert Toombs, of this State, is due above all others the responsibility for secession. The declaration of defiance for the South against the North was fulminated by Martin J. Crawford, a Georgian. The first act of war was by the Georgia Governor, Joseph E. Brown, in seizing Fort Pulaski. Georgia's reprisal upon New York through Gov. Brown evoked the attention of the Congresses of both governments. The shaping spirits of the Southern Confederacy were Georgians. Howell Cobb was President of the Convention, Thomas R. Cobb was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Francis S. Bartow was Chairman of the Military Committee, Alexander H. Stephens was Vice President of the new government, and Robert Toombs was premier of the President in the provisional, and the formative period of the permanent, Confederate governments. Mr. Stephens' great Corner Stone Speech put the world against the South on the slavery issue. Gov. Joseph E. Brown made Georgia historic by his eloquent controversies with Mr. Davis and the Confederate administration upon the momentous issue of preserving the integrity of constitutional principle. Confederate States Senator, Benjamin H. Hill, became the strong prop of Mr. Davis in the closing years of the war, and another strong Georgian, Gen. A. R. Lawton, the administrator of the most important department of the Confederate service.

Georgia became the center of field supply, and of manufacture of army stores, as well as the main depository of Federal prisoners. Finally the chief battle ground was transferred to Georgia, and the decisive campaign of the struggle, resulting in the capture of Atlanta,





Sherman's March to the Sea, the annihilation of one of the twin armies of the Confederacy, and the destruction of the subsistence of the other, brought the war to its end. The first effort at peace was made by Gen. Sherman in this State. The Confederate administration drifted to and went to pieces in Georgia, the last order of the Confederate government was issued, and Mr. Davis, the President, was captured in Georgia. Georgia sent more troops to the field, lost more soldiers in battle, and sacrificed more property than any other Southern State. And a Georgia lady, Mrs. Mary A. Williams, was the originator of the Decoration Day custom, observed by both sections universally in paying honor to the dead of the war.

In the era of Reconstruction Georgia played a more potential part than any of her suffering sisters, undergoing three distinct and different rehabilitations, furnishing the most conspicuous champions for and against that motley experiment of governmental workmanship, fighting its abuses most stubbornly, focalizing the public attention most conspicuously, eliciting more of Congressional legislation, and finally regenerating with more sturdy vigor and superb recuperation than any other Confederate commonwealth. Since the complete restoration to her own State sovereignty in 1871, just ten years ago, Georgia has, in the liberality of her statesmanship and in material progress, outstripped all of her rivals. She is the first State of the Union in the extent and variety of her mineral and agricultural resources, the second State in the production of cotton and the first in the South in its manufacture. In education, in literature, in journalism Georgia has kept apace with the best progress of the age. In furnishing the railway genius of the South this commonwealth has had no rivalry, while in the colossal focalization of railroad capital and enterprise in her borders, that will bring a tidal wave of new population and boundless development, Georgia has had the most magnificent possible practical tribute to her unequalable supremacy. The prodigious power of these gigantic instrumentalities of commerce and increased production must give her irresistible capacities for growth and prosperity. Supplement this with the transcendent benefactions of the great Cotton Exposition now progressing, which will introduce this State to the world as the favored Southern home of *Cotton*, the imperial monarch, and surely no people or country will or can have the basis for a more august future.

But at last the proudest excellence of this commonwealth lies in her political, moral and Christian civilization. Lovers of constitutional government, devoted to a true, fraternal Union, loyal to law and liberty,



wedded to temperance and morality, cherishing the sanctity of home and imbued with the spirit of the genuine religion of the living God, her million and a half of God-loving people at last constitute the real greatness of Georgia. And most striking of all her glories, this State, so potential in severing the Union, is to-day, by her broad-hearted sentiments, her catholicity of patriotism, her genius for substantial enterprise and her elevated philanthropy, the dominant agency in re-uniting the broken brotherhood of States, in re-cementing the sundered sections of the nation, and in restoring the lost harmony of this mighty Republic.

Thus does the record close in 1881 for GEORGIA.



## APPENDIX A.

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### GEORGIA OFFICERS

WHO SERVED IN THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-5 IN THE CONFEDERATE  
SERVICE, INCLUDING GENERAL AND REGIMENTAL  
FIELD OFFICERS AND CAPTAINS.

THE following list is admittedly incomplete and painfully imperfect. It was taken from the Confederate war records in the custody of the Federal Government at Washington, D. C., and has been enlarged and corrected as far as possible from the meager documents in the Georgia archives, and such personal information as has been obtainable and authentic. The war department of the Confederacy was most loosely run as far as its records are concerned. Regimental muster-rolls were curiously mingled and confused, very few of the constantly occurring changes in military organizations were noted, and altogether a haphazard and inaccurate method of clerical work seems to have prevailed.

It will be found in the following list, faithfully transcribed, that men's names are both wrongly spelled and omitted, and there has been no opportunity to rectify the one or supply the other. Gen. Marcus J. Wright, who is employed to edit the Confederate records, is giving to his important work in the War Archives office under Col. R. N. Scott, an intelligent and faithful industry, and is daily perfecting the Confederate war chronicles. But as his task covers the whole Confederacy, he can devote but a portion of his time to Georgia.

This list of our Georgia officers is given as a beginning, with the hope that in future editions, it may assume something like accuracy and completeness through the voluntary co-operation of the survivors of the Conflict. Those who have been omitted or improperly printed, can, by furnishing the author with the facts, appear as they should hereafter. And it would be well for commanding officers of organizations to communicate with Gen. Marcus J. Wright, at Washington, D. C., the facts about their commands, in order that the publication of Georgia's service and personelle in the great civil war, may be as complete as possible.



The writer is much indebted to Gen. M. J. Wright, for assistance in preparing this list, and also to Major Sidney Herbert, for valuable aid in making a full roster of Georgia general officers, and for the roster of Georgia West Point officers who entered the Confederate service. Major Herbert is a disinterested and pains-taking collector of valuable historical information as well as a graceful writer.

*Georgia Generals.*

- ALEXANDER, E. PORTER**  
Capt. Corps of Engineers, C. S. A., April 2, 1861.  
Chief of Ordnance, A. of N. Va., Aug. 1862.  
Lt. Col. of Artillery, Dec. 31, 1861.  
Colonel of Artillery, Dec. 5, 1862.  
Chief of Artillery, Longstreet's Corps, Sept. 25, 1863.  
Brig. Gen. of Artillery, Feb. 26, 1864.  
(West Pointer and 2d Lt. Eng. Corps U. S. A.)
- ANDERSON, C. D.**  
Brig. Gen. in Georgia State forces.
- ANDERSON, GEORGE T.**  
Col. 11th Ga. Infantry, July 2, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 1, 1862.
- ANDERSON, ROBERT H.**  
1st Lieut. Corps of Artillery, C. S. A., March 16, 1861.  
Major 1st Batt. Ga. Sharp Shooters, June 20, 1862.  
Col. 5th Ga. Cavalry, Jan. 20, 1863.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., July 20, 1864.  
(West Pointer and 2d Lt. Inf. U. S. A.)
- AVERY, ISAAC W.**  
Private 8th Ga. Vol., May 21, 1861.  
Capt. Ind. Cav. Co., Nov. 1, 1861.  
Lt. Col. 23d Ga. Cav. Bat., Aug. 1862.  
Col. 4th Ga. Cav., Nov. 1862.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Feb. 1865.
- BARTOW, FRANCIS S.**  
Capt. 8th Ga. Vols., May 21, 1861.  
Col. 8th Ga. Vols., May 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., 1861.
- BROWNE, WILLIAM M.**  
Brigadier General.
- BATTLE, CULLEN A.**  
— General. A native Georgian, enlisting from Alabama.
- BOWEN, JOHN S.**  
Major General.
- BENNING, HENRY L.**  
Colonel.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Jan. 17, 1863.
- BOGGS, W. R.**  
Capt. Corps of Engineers, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 4, 1862.  
Chief of Staff to Gen. E. Kirby Smith.  
(West Pointer and 1st Lt. Ord. U. S. A.)
- BRYAN, GOODE**  
Col. 16th Ga. Infantry, Feb. 15, 1862.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Aug. 29, 1863. Resigned Sept. 30, 1864.
- COBB, HOWELL**  
Col. 16th Ga. Infantry, July 15, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Feb. 13, 1862.  
Maj. Gen. P. A. C. S., Sept. 9, 1863.
- COBB, THOMAS R. R.**  
Col. Georgia Legion, Aug. 28, 1861.  
Brig. General, Nov. 1, 1862.
- CLAYTON, HENRY D.**  
Major General. A native Georgian enlisting from Alabama.
- CARSWELL, R. W.**  
Brig. Gen. State forces.
- COLCUTT, ALFRED H.**  
Col. 6th Ga. Infantry, May 27, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Sept. 1, 1862.  
Major General, March 1865.
- CAPERS, F. W.**  
Brig. Gen. State forces.
- COOK, PHILIP**  
Col. 4th Ga. Infantry, Nov. 1, 1862.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Aug. 5, 1864.
- CUMMING, ALFRED**  
Major Corps Inf. C. S. A., Mar. 16, 1861.  
Lt. Col. 10th Ga. Regiment, June 1861.  
Colonel " Sept. 25, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Oct. 29, 1862.  
(West Pointer and Capt. Infantry, U. S. A.)
- DESHLER, JAMES**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., July 28, 1863.
- DOLES, GEORGE**, killed,  
Col. 4th Ga. Infantry, May 8, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 1, 1862.





- DU BOSE, DUDLEY M.**  
Col. 15th Ga. Infantry, Jan., 1863.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 16, 1864.
- EVANS, CLEMENT A.**  
Major 31st Ga. Infantry, Nov. 19, 1861.  
Col. " " May 13, 1862.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., May 19, 1864.
- GARDNER, W. MONTGOMERY**  
Major Corps Inf. C. S. A., Mar. 16, 1861.  
Col. 8th Ga. Infantry, Aug. 21, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 14, 1861.  
(West Pointer and Capt. Infantry U. S. A.)
- GARTRELL, LUCIUS J.**  
Col. 7th Ga. Inf., May 31, 1861. Resigned  
Dec., 1862.  
Member of Confederate Congress.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Aug. 22, 1864.
- GIRARDEY, VICTOR J. B.**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., July 30, 1864.
- GORDON, JOHN B.**  
Lt. Col. 6th Ala. Infantry, Dec. 26, 1861.  
Col. 6th Ala., April 26, 1862.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 1, 1862.  
Major Gen., May 14, 1864.  
Lt. Gen., 1865.
- HARDEE, WILLIAM J.**  
Col. Corps of Cav. C. S. A., Mar. 16, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., June 17, 1861.  
Major Gen., Oct. 7, 1861.  
Lt. Gen., Oct. 10, 1862.  
Tendered full Generalship. 1864.  
(West Pointer and Lt. Col. Cav. U. S. A.)
- HARRISON, GEORGE P., JR.**  
Col. 32d Ga. Infantry.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Feb., 1865.
- HARRISON, GEORGE P., SR.**  
Brig. Gen. State forces.
- HOLTZCLAW, JAMES T.**  
Brig. Gen. A native Georgian, enlisted  
from Alabama.
- HENDERSON, ROBERT J.**  
Colonel.  
Brig. Gen., 1865.
- JACKSON, HENRY R.**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., June 4, 1861.  
Resigned Dec. 2, 1861.  
Major Gen. State troops, Dec., 1861.  
Re-appointed Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S.,  
Sept. 21, 1863.
- JACKSON, JOHN K.**  
Col. 5th Ga. Infantry, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Jan. 14, 1862.
- JONES, DAVID R.**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., June 17, 1861.  
Major Gen., Oct. 11, 1862  
(West Pointer and Capt. in Adj. Gen. Dept. U.  
S. A.)
- IVERSON, ALFRED, JR.**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., 1863.  
(1st. Lt. Cav. U. S. A.)
- LAWTON, ALEXANDER R.**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., April 13, 1861.  
Quarter Master Gen. C. S., August, 1863.  
(West Pointer.)
- LONGSTREET, JAMES**  
Lt. Col. Corps Inf. C. S. A., Mar. 16, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., June 17, 1861.  
Major Gen., Oct. 7, 1861.  
Lt. Gen., Oct. 9, 1862.
- MARTIN, JAMES B.**  
Brig. Gen. A native Georgian enlisting  
from Alabama. Killed.
- McLAWS, LAFAYETTE**  
Major Corps Inf. C. S. A., Mar. 10, 1861.  
Col. 10th Ga. Infantry, June 17, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Sept. 25, 1861.  
Major Gen., May 23, 1862.  
(West Pointer and Capt. Inf. U. S. A.)
- MERCER, HUGH W.**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Oct. 29, 1861.
- MCCOY, H. K.**  
Brig. Gen. State troops.
- PHILLIPS, WILLIAM**  
Brig. Gen. State troops.
- PHILLIPS, R. J.**  
Brig. Gen. State troops.
- PERRY, WILLIAM F.**  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S. A native Georgian  
enlisting from Florida.
- PRATHER, J. S.**  
Brevet Brigadier.
- SEMMES, PAUL J.**  
Col. 2nd Ga. Inf., May 7, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Mar. 11, 1862.
- SIMMS, JAMES P.**  
Brig. Gen. State troops.
- SMITH, W. D.**  
Capt. Corps Cavalry, C. S. A., Mar. 16,  
1861.  
Col. 20th Ga. Reg., July 14, 1861. Brig.  
Gen. P. A. C. S., March 7, 1862. Died.
- SORREL, G. MOXLEY**  
Chief of Staff to Gen. Longstreet.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Oct. 27, 1864.



- ST. JOHN, ISAAC M.  
Capt. Corps Engineers C. S. A., Feb. 15, 1862.  
Major Artillery, Head Nitro and Mining Bureau, April 18, 1862.  
Lt. Col. Mining Corps, May 23, 1863.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., and Commissary General, C. S., Feb. 16, 1865.
- STOVALL, MARCELLUS A.  
Lt. Col. 3rd Ga. Bat. Inf., Oct. 8, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., January 30, 1863.
- THOMAS, EDWARD L.  
Col. 35th Ga. Inf., Oct. 15, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 1, 1862.
- THOMAS, BRYAN M.  
Col. of 51st Tennessee, 13. Alabama and Cavalry Regiments.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Aug. 1864.  
(West Pointer and 2nd Lt. Inf. U. S. A.)
- TRACY, EDWARD D.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S. Killed.
- TOOMBS, ROBERT  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., July 19, 1861.  
Resigned Mar. 4, 1863.  
Secretary of State to President Davis.
- TWIGGS, DAVID E.  
Major General P. A. C. S., May 22, 1861.  
Died July 15, 1862.
- WALKER, WM. H. T.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., May 25, 1861.  
Resigned Oct. 29, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. State troops, Dec. 1861. Re-appointed Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Feb. 9, 1863. Major Gen. May 23, 1863. Killed.  
(West Pointer and Bat. Lt. Col. Inf. U. S. A.)
- WAYNE, HENRY C.  
Major General State troops and Adjutant General of Georgia.  
(West Pointer and Brevet Major, U. S. A.)
- WALKER, W. S.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S.
- WRIGHT, GIDEON J.  
Brig. Gen. State troops.
- WRIGHT, AMBROSE R.  
Col. 30th Ga. Inf., May 8, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., June 3, 1862.  
Major Gen., Nov. 26, 1864.
- WILSON, CLAUDIUS C.  
Col. 25th Ga. Inf., Sept. 2, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Nov. 16, 1863.
- WILLIS, EDWARD  
Colonel.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S. Killed.
- WHEELER, JOSEPH  
Captain and Colonel, 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Oct. 30, 1862.  
Maj. Gen., Jan. 30, 1863.  
Lt. Gen., Feb. 28, 1865.  
(West Pointer and 2nd Lt. Mounted Riflemen, U. S. A.)
- YOUNG, P. M. B.  
Major Ga. Legion, Sept. 5, 1861.  
Lt. Col., Nov. 15, 1861.  
Col. Cobb's Legion, Nov. 1, 1862.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., Sept. 23, 1863.  
Maj. Gen., Dec. 30, 1864.
- ZACHARY, C. T.  
Col. 27th Georgia Inf., 1861.  
Brig. Gen. P. A. C. S., March, 1863.

*West Point Georgia Students who entered the Confederate Army  
and served below the Rank of General.*

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| Andrew J. Ford, Capt. and Asst. Surg.  | Abner Smead.             |
| Abraham B. Ragau, Major and Paymaster. | St. Clair Dearing.       |
| John T. Mercer, Col. 21st Ga. Inf.     | Owen F. Solomon.         |
| Leroy Napier, Jr.                      | Edward F. Bagley.        |
| William D. Smith.                      | Alexander B. Montgomery. |
| John R. Church.                        | Aurelius F. Cone.        |
| Geo. A. Cunningham.                    | Arthur Shaaf.            |

*Georgians on the Federal Side in the War.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Brig. Gen. Brevet, Maj. Gen. M. C. Meigs,<br>Quarter Master Gen. U. S. A. | Brig. Gen. George F. B. Dandy, Quarter<br>Master Dept. U. S. A. |
| Col. and Bvt. Brig. Gen. John M. Cuyler,<br>Surgeon. U. S. A.             | Capt. Mason Carter, 5th Inf.                                    |
| Col. and Bvt. Brig. Gen. Henry D. Wallen,<br>U. S. A.                     | Lt. Col. Julian McAllister, Ordnance Dept.<br>U. S. A.          |



## INFANTRY.

*1st Georgia Regulars, Infantry*

Colonel Chas. J. Williams, Resd.	Captain (C) H. A. Cannon.
“ Wm. J. Magill.	“ (M) A. A. F. Hill.
“ R. A. Wayne.	“ (G) J. G. Montgomery.
Lieutenant Colonel Wm. J. Magill.	“ (D) John Milledge.
“ “ Wm. Martin.	“ (A) H. H. D. Twiggs.
“ “ R. A. Wayne.	“ T. Fort.
“ “ Miller Grieve.	“ G. W. Anderson.
Major John D. Walker.	“ John Howard.
“ R. A. Wayne.	“ E. P. Bowdre.
“ Miller Grieve.	“ W. W. Paine.
“ A. A. F. Hill.	“ R. H. Atkinson.
Assistant Quarter Master L. De Laigle.	“ F. M. Myers.
“ “ W. W. Paine.	“ Thos. Burdell.
Captain (E) R. A. Wayne.	“ Chas. L. Wylly.
“ (E) J. R. Du Bose.	“ B. H. Hudson.
“ (F) J. G. Patten.	“ J. D. Anthony.
“ (H) M. Grieve.	“ (B) Wm. Martin.
“ (I) L. H. Egan.	“ (K) Jacob Read.
“ (L) A. M. Wallace.	

*1st Georgia Volunteers, Infantry.*

Colonel J. N. Ramsay.	Captain (E) S. A. M. Jones.
Lieutenant Colonel Geo. H. Thompson.	“ (F) C. A. Stone.
Major Jas. W. Anderson.	“ (G) John W. Evans.
Captain (A) Geo. M. Hanvey.	“ (H) T. B. Cabaniss.
“ (B) T. G. Wilkins.	“ (I) Samuel H. Crump.
“ (C) John A. Houser.	“ (K) J. S. Pinkard.
“ (D) H. B. Adams.	

*1st Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—510 (2d.)*

Colonel Charles H. Olmstead.	Captain (C) G. W. Anderson.
Lieutenant Colonel W. S. Rockwell.	“ (D) S. Y. Levy.
“ “ M. J. Ford.	“ “ P. C. Elkins.
Major W. J. Ford.	“ (E) J. M. Dolerty.
A. C. S., E. W. Drummond.	“ (F) J. S. Turner.
Assistant Quarter Master E. Hopkins.	“ (G) A. C. Davenport.
“ “ F. M. Hull.	“ (G) G. Eberhart.
Adjutant M. H. Hopkins.	“ (H) F. W. Sims.
Captain (A) J. H. Flannery.	“ (H) J. Lachlison.
“ (B) David O'Connor.	“ (I) C. Werner, Kd.
“ (B) James Dooner.	“ (I) C. A. H. Umbach.
“ (C) J. W. Anderson.	“ (K) John Cooper.

*2d Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—750.*

Colonel Paul J. Semmes.	Major W. W. Charlton.
“ Edgar M. Butt.	“ A. M. Lewis.
Lieutenant Colonel Skidmore Harris	Assistant Quarter Master Jas. Houston.
“ “ W. T. Harris, Kd.	A. C. S. S. G. W. Dillingham.
“ “ Wm. R. Holmes, Kd	Adjutant W. Reid.
“ “ W. S. Shepperd.	Captain (A) D. G. Candler.
Major Edgar M. Butt.	“ (B) Wm. T. Harris.
“ W. S. Shepperd.	“ (C) Wm. S. Shepperd.
“ Wm. T. Harris.	“ (D) Wm. R. Holmes.





Captain (E) W. A. Campbell.  
 " (F) Thos. E. Dickerson.  
 " (G) Roswell Ellis.

Captain (H) Jesse A. Glenn.  
 " (I) Charles R. Wiggins.  
 " (K) Jared J. Ball.

*2d Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized.*

Captain (A) W. W. Charlton.  
 " (A) John W. Owens.  
 " (B) A. McLewis.  
 " (C) W. S. Shepperd.  
 " (C) Robert Howard.  
 " (D) W. A. Thompson, Kd.

Captain (E) T. J. Morris.  
 " (F) A. B. Shuford, Kd.  
 " (G) T. Chaffin.  
 " (H) B. L. Hancock, Kd.  
 " (I) Jno. T. Maddox.  
 " (K) J. B. Newell.

*3d Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—1145.*

Colonel Ambrose R. Wright.  
 " Edward J. Walker.  
 Lieutenant Colonel James S. Reid.  
 " R. B. Nesbit.  
 " C. Sneed.  
 Major Augustus H. Lee.  
 " John R. Sturgis, Kd.  
 " A. B. Montgomery, detailed with  
 regiment.  
 Major John F. Jones.  
 " G. E. Hayes.  
 A. C. S., H. S., Hughes.  
 Assistant Quarter Master, A. Phillips.  
 Adjutant W. W. Turner.

Adjutant J. B. Habersham.  
 " J. W. Perry.  
 " S. L. Alexander.  
 Captain (A) Wm. C. Musgrove.  
 " (B) R. B. Nisbet.  
 " (C) R. L. McWhorter.  
 " (D) C. H. Andrews.  
 " (E) J. R. Griffin.  
 " (F) Wm. O. Beall.  
 " (G) Edward J. Walker.  
 " (H) John F. Jones.  
 " (I) N. A. Carswell.  
 " (K) H. C. Billups.  
 " (L) Jas. W. Hendon.

*3d Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized—1064.*

Captain (A) S. A. Corker.  
 " (B) R. B. Nisbet.  
 " (B) John S. Reid.  
 " (C) J. T. Geer.  
 " (D) C. H. Andrews.  
 " (E) J. A. Hamilton, Kd.  
 " (E) G. W. Allen.  
 " (E) J. G. Royal.  
 " (F) J. M. Waters.  
 " (F) J. A. Mason.  
 " (G) E. J. Walker.

Captain (G) C. Sneed.  
 " (H) John F. Jones.  
 " (H) L. F. Luckie.  
 " (H) J. H. Evans.  
 " (I) N. A. Carswell.  
 " (K) H. C. Billups.  
 " (K) D. B. Langston.  
 " (I) J. J. McRee, Kd.  
 " (I) W. H. Bearden.  
 " (I) H. J. Hughes.

*4th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—870.*

Colonel George Doles.  
 " Philip Cook.  
 " W. H. Willis.  
 Lieutenant Colonel John J. Matthews.  
 " W. T. Jordan.  
 " Philip Cook.  
 " David R. E. Winn.  
 Major Charles L. Whitehead.  
 " Wm. F. Jordan.  
 " David R. E. Winn.  
 " R. S. Smith.  
 " Edwin A. Nash.  
 " F. H. de Graffeuil.  
 " Wm. H. Willis.  
 A. C. S., J. B. Morgan.

A. C. S., Jas. F. Murphy.  
 Assistant Quartermaster H. R. Daniels.  
 " " Wm. H. Tinsley.  
 Adjutant Philip Cook.  
 " A. J. Roberts.  
 Captain (A) B. Cusley.  
 " (B) Robt. S. Smith.  
 " (C) Ed. A. Nash.  
 " (D) Geo. F. Todd.  
 " (E) Y. G. Rust.  
 " (F) B. R. Maves.  
 " (G) Geo. F. Bartlett.  
 " (H) Same M. Prothro.  
 " (I) Wm. L. Johnson.



*4th Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized—720.*

Captain (A) J. P. Strickland.	Captain (F) Jas. F. Sullivan.
" (A) Jas. H. Weeks.	" (K) D. R. E. Winn.
" (B) R. S. Smith.	" (K) R. M. Bisel, Kd.
" (B) M. H. Hill.	" (G) Wm. F. Jordan.
" (B) A. C. Gibson.	" (G) John T. Lang, Dd.
" (C) E. A. Nash.	" (G) C. R. Ezell.
" (C) Geo. F. Todd, Dd.	" (H) J. W. Caraker.
" (C) A. C. Frost.	" (H) Wallace Butts.
" (E) Wm. E. Smith.	" (I) S. M. Prothro.
" (E) F. H. de Graffenseid.	" (I) Wm. H. Willis.
" (F) Geo. G. Carcy.	

*5th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—825.*

Colonel John K. Jackson.	Assistant Quartermaster, Jas. M. Cole.
" Saml. W. Mangham.	Adjutant R. S. Cheatham.
" Wm. F. Black.	Captain (A) Charles A. Platt.
" Wm. T. Beach.	" (B) Saml. W. Mangham.
" Chas. P. Daniel.	" (C) John H. Hall.
Lieutenant Colonel Thos. Beall.	" (D) Ed. H. Pottle.
" " Charles R. Day.	" (E) C. B. Wootten.
" " John F. Iverson.	" (F) William H. Lang.
Major Wm. L. Salisbury.	" (G) William J. Sears.
" Charles P. Daniel.	" (H) Hugh M. King.
" D. H. Ansley.	" (I) John T. Iverson.
" W. B. Hundley.	" (K) William J. Horsley.
A. C. S., H. B. T. Montgomery.	

*5th Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized—424.*

Captain (A) D. H. Ansley.	Captain (G) John J. Hurt.
" (C) H. P. Steeney.	" (H) Stephen R. Weston.
" (D) Uln B. Hundley.	" (I) John F. Iverson.
" (F) John F. Kiddor.	" (K) Wm. G. Horsley.

*6th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—849.*

Colonel A. H. Colquitt.	Adjutant J. H. Rogers.
" J. T. Lofton.	Captain (A) W. M. Arnold.
" S. W. Harris.	" (B) John Hanna.
Lieutenant Colonel James M. Newton, Kd.	" (B) W. M. Tidwell.
" " W. C. Cleveland.	" (C) C. D. Anderson.
" " J. T. Lofton.	" (C) J. M. Culpepper.
" " S. W. Harris.	" (D) J. D. Watson.
" " W. M. Arnold, Kd.	" (D) S. M. Ralston.
Major Phil Tracy, Kd.	" (E) W. C. Cleveland.
" C. D. Anderson.	" (F) E. H. Shackelford.
" W. C. Cleveland.	" (G) John T. Griffin.
" W. M. Arnold.	" (H) W. L. Plaine.
" J. M. Culpepper.	" (H) B. J. Russell.
A. C. S., T. J. Collier.	" (I) J. A. Barclay.
A. Q. M., R. N. Ely.	" (K) J. T. Lofton.
Adjutant B. Russell.	" (K) S. W. Harris.

*7th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—891.*

Colonel L. J. Gartrell.	Colonel G. H. Carmichael.
" W. T. Wilson.	Lieutenant Colonel John Dunwoody.
" W. W. White.	" " W. W. White.



Lieutenant Colonel George H. Carmichael.	Captain (B) G. J. Foreacre.
" " M. T. Allman.	" (C) C. S. Jenkins.
Major L. B. Anderson.	" (D) J. B. Lindley.
" E. W. Hoyle.	" (E) John W. Fowler.
A. C. S., W. J. Wilson.	" (F) Eli Benson.
A. Q. M., R. R. Holliday.	" (G) C. N. Featherston.
Adjutant E. W. Hoyle.	" (H) Thos. E. King.
" J. E. Shaw.	" (I) Wm. W. White.
Captain (A) G. H. Carmichael.	" (K) W. J. Ballard.

*7th Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized—624.*

Major G. H. Carmichael.	Captain (C) I. M. Holcombe.
" H. H. Wiet.	" (D) J. Kizer.
" John Kizer.	" (E) T. J. Hartridge.
" T. S. Hartridge.	" (F) W. W. Bradberry.
" M. T. Allman.	" (G) J. C. Wadkins.
A. Q. M., B. E. Henry.	" (H) M. T. Allman.
Captain (A) G. H. Carmichael.	" (I) R. B. Hicks.
" (B) H. H. Wiet.	" (J) W. W. White.
" (C) D. T. Peek, Kd.	" (K) Jas. McLendon.

*8th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—745.*

Colonel F. S. Bartow, Kd.	Captain (A) E. J. Magruder.
" Wm. M. Gardner.	" (A) S. H. Hall.
" L. M. Lamar.	" (B) A. E. Butler.
" John R. Towers.	" (B) J. H. Couper.
Lieutenant Colonel John R. Towers.	" (B) J. West.
" " E. J. Magruder.	" (C) H. J. Menard.
Major E. J. Magruder	" (D) H. E. Malom.
" George O. Dawson.	" (E) D. Scott.
Surgeon H. V. M. Miller.	" (F) J. T. Lewis.
A. C. S., George C. Norton.	" (G) T. D. L. Ryan.
A. Q. M., E. A. Wilcox.	" (H) George N. Yarborough.
Adjutant J. L. Branch, Kd.	" (I) George O. Dawson.
" A. R. Harper.	" (K) Jacob Phinazy.
" W. F. Shellman.	" (K) T. J. Bowling.

*9th Georgia Volunteers, Infantry.*

Colonel E. R. Goulding.	Captain (*A) John Lane.
" R. A. Turnipseed.	" (A) Gideon J. Norman.
" Ben Beck.	" (B) Wm. M. Jones.
" E. F. Hoge.	" (B) Wm. E. Cleghorn.
Lieutenant Colonel R. A. Turnipseed.	" (C) George Hillyer.
" " John C. Mounger.	" (C) J. W. Arnold.
" " E. F. Hoge.	" (D) J. G. Webb.
" " J. G. Webb.	" (D) T. A. Hurt.
Major John C. Mounger.	" (E) P. A. S. Morris.
" W. M. Jones.	" (E) R. P. Wellborn.
" C. J. Webb.	" (E) S. A. Jemison.
" J. W. Arnold.	" (F) Ben Beck.
A. C. S., J. C. Waddy.	" (F) Hamp Doles.
A. C. S., R. J. Cowart.	" (G) E. F. Hoge.
A. Q. M., J. W. Sutton.	" (G) G. G. Gordon.
A. Q. M., E. P. Watkins.	" (G) E. A. Sharpe.
Adjutant A. O. Bacon.	" (H) John C. Mounger.
" John Jones.	

\*Transferred to Artillery.



Captain (H) R. A. Hardeo.  
 " (H) S. D. Corker, Kd.  
 " (H) T. J. Hardee.  
 " (I) L. C. Belt.  
 " (I) R. V. Fulcher.

Captain (I) Thomas Rought.  
 " (K) J. M. D. King, Dd.  
 " (K) N. C. Duncan.  
 " (K) M. E. Sparks.

*10th Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—808.*

Colonel Lafayette McLaws.  
 " Alfred Cumming.  
 " John B. Weems.  
 " W. C. Holt.  
 " A. J. McBride.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. B. Weems.  
 " Willis C. Holt.  
 " C. C. Kibbee.  
 Major R. R. Hawes.  
 " Willis C. Holt.  
 " P. H. Loud.  
 A. C. S., G. H. Cheever.  
 A. Q. M., S. T. Neal.  
 Adjutant R. G. Strickland.  
 " John H. Dobbs.  
 Captain (A) O. S. Kimbrough.

Captain (B) C. H. Plinیزی.  
 " (B) A. P. Boggs.  
 " (B) W. S. Davis.  
 " (C) Willis C. Holt.  
 " (C) J. W. Neil.  
 " (D) Henry L. Leon.  
 " (E) Andrew J. McBride.  
 " (F) Wm. F. Johnston.  
 " (F) W. G. Green, Dd.  
 " (F) T. H. Wood.  
 " (G) C. C. Kibbee.  
 " (H) P. H. Loud.  
 " (H) E. M. Foster.  
 " (I) Y. L. Wootton.  
 " (K) J. P. W. Read.  
 " (K) T. C. Cone.

*11th Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—750.*

Colonel George T. Anderson.  
 " F. H. Little.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Theo. L. Guerry.  
 " Wm. Luffman.  
 Major Wm. Luffman.  
 " W. R. Welsh.  
 " H. D. McDaniel.  
 " C. T. Goode.  
 A. C. S., Hockenhuil.  
 Assistant Quarter-master J. Guthrie.  
 Adjutant J. F. Green.  
 Captain (A) Wm. H. Mitchell, Kd.  
 " (B) J. W. Stokes.

Captain (C) Wm Luffman.  
 " (C) W. R. Ramsay.  
 " (D) W. R. Welsh.  
 " (E) S. C. Dobbs.  
 " (F) J. D. Hyde.  
 " (F) J. W. Johnston.  
 " (G) John Y. Wood.  
 " (H) M. T. Nunnally, Kd.  
 " (H) E. C. Arnold.  
 " (I) Samuel Thatcher, Dd.  
 " (I) F. M. Bledsoe.  
 " (I) E. B. Brannan.  
 " (K) G. W. Wimberly.

*12th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—745.*

Colonel Edward Johnson.  
 " Z. F. Conner.  
 " Edward Willis, Kd.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Abner Sneed.  
 " F. B. Scott, Kd.  
 " Willis A. Hawkins.  
 " Mark H. Blanford.  
 " J. Harleman.  
 Major Willis A. Hawkins.  
 " Edward Willis.  
 " J. Harleman.  
 " J. T. Carson.  
 Captain (A) Samuel Dawson, Kd.  
 " (A) S. G. Prior.  
 " (B) Isaac Harleman.  
 " (B) Jos. N. Beall.

Captain (C.) John McMullan, Kd.  
 " (C) T. W. Harris.  
 " (D) Wm. L. Furlow, Kd.  
 " (D) D. D. Peden.  
 " (E) T. B. Scott.  
 " (E) Jas. A. Whitesides.  
 " (F) Wm. F. Brown, Kd.  
 " (F) Jas. Everett.  
 " (G) R. T. Davis, Dd.  
 " (G) A. S. Reid.  
 " (H) J. G. Rodgers.  
 " (H) O. T. Evans.  
 " (I) J. W. Patterson, Kd.  
 " (I) James M. Briggs.  
 " (K) Mark H. Blanford.  
 " (K) R. McMichael.





*13th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—947.*

Colonel Walker Ector, Dd.	Captain (B) James McCanley.
" Marcellus Douglass, Dd.	" (C) J. L. Moore.
" James M. Smith.	" (D) W. W. Hartsfield.
Lieutenant Colonel James M. Smith.	" (E) W. A. Clarke.
" John H. Baker.	" (F) B. P. Brooks.
Major James M. Smith.	" (F) S. W. Jones.
" John H. Baker.	" (G) J. T. Crawford.
A. C. S., J. H. Mangham.	" (H) Rich Maltha.
A. Q. M., M. Gomerly.	" (I) E. W. Robinson.
Adjutant O. K. Walker.	" (K) J. A. Long.
Captain (A) J. H. Mitchell.	

*14th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—770.*

Colonel A. V. Brumby.	Captain (A) J. W. Maves.
" Felix Price	" (B) C. C. Kelly.
" Robert W. Folsom.	" (B) W. N. Ryle.
" R. P. Lester.	" (C) L. A. Lane.
Lieutenant Colonel R. W. Folsom.	" (D) James M. Fielder.
" W. A. Harris.	" (E) R. P. Lester.
" James M. Fielder.	" (E) S. B. David.
" R. P. Lester.	" (E) R. N. Rogers.
" W. L. Goldsmith.	" (F) R. P. Harman, Kd.
Major W. A. Harris.	" (F) W. O. Clegg.
" James M. Fielder.	" (F) J. H. Hicks.
" R. P. Lester.	" (G) William A. Harris.
" W. L. Goldsmith.	" (G) T. T. Moutger.
" C. C. Kelly.	" (H) Thos. M. Yopp, Cashd.
A. C. S., T. C. Moore.	" (H) H. B. Smith.
A. Q. M., E. A. Heggis.	" (I) R. W. McMichael, Kd.
Adjutant A. Talliaferro.	" (K) W. L. Goldsmith.
" T. C. Moore.	" (K) R. A. Holt.
Captain (A) J. H. Etheridge, Kd.	" (K) J. M. Evans.

*15th Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—660.*

Colonel T. W. Thomas.	Captain (C) L. H. O. Martin.
" William T. Millican.	" (C) W. J. Willis.
" D. M. DeBose.	" (D) S. J. Farmer.
Lieutenant Colonel W. M. McIntosh, Kd.	" (D) S. J. Flynt.
" T. J. Smith.	" (E) T. J. Smith.
Major T. J. Smith.	" (F) John C. Burch.
" P. J. Shamon.	" (G) S. Z. Hearnberger.
A. C. S., J. H. Willis.	" (H) William R. Poole.
A. Q. M., H. W. Forbes.	" (H) T. H. Jackson.
Adjutant B. H. Lofton.	" (I) William H. Mattox.
" L. Pierce.	" (I) J. A. Gaines.
Captain (A) A. B. Cade.	" (K) J. L. Culver.
" (A) J. S. Callaway.	" (K) Mark Latimer.
" (B) William T. Millican.	

*16th Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—865.*

Colonel Howell Cobb.	Major H. P. Thomas.
" Goode Bryan.	" James S. Gholston.
" James S. Gholston.	" J. H. Skelton.
Lieutenant Colonel Goode Bryan.	A. C. S., L. McGuire.
" Henry P. Thomas, Kd.	A. Q. M., R. Thomas.
" B. E. Stiles.	Adjutant T. W. Cumming.



Captain (A) J. S. Gholston.  
 " (A) H. C. Nash, Kd.  
 " (A) J. M. Sims.  
 " (B) A. M. Reynolds, Kd.  
 " (C) J. H. Skelton.  
 " (D) J. N. Montgomery.  
 " (E) B. E. Stiles.

Captain (F) J. H. D. McRae.  
 " (G) A. C. Thompson.  
 " (H) N. Reeder.  
 " (H) H. M. Richardson.  
 " (I) N. L. Hutchins.  
 " (K) R. J. Boyd.

*17th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—626.*

Colonel H. L. Benning.  
 " Wesley C. Hodges.  
 Lieutenant Colonel W. C. Hodges.  
 " " Chas. W. Matthews, Kd.  
 " " W. A. Barden.  
 Major Thomas Walker.  
 " J. H. Pickett.  
 " W. A. Barden.  
 " J. B. Moore.  
 A. C. S., G. H. King.  
 A. Q. M., T. C. Shorter.  
 Adjutant T. A. Klink.  
 Captain (A) D. B. Harrell.  
 " (A) D. H. Wilmot.  
 " (B) H. L. French.  
 " (C) F. S. Chapman.  
 " (C) J. B. Moore.

Captain (D) C. G. Campbell.  
 " (D) V. A. S. Parks.  
 " (D) J. H. Martin.  
 " (E) John A. McGregor.  
 " (E) J. N. Tyers.  
 " (F) D. B. Thompson.  
 " (F) H. McCauley.  
 " (F) J. H. Weeks.  
 " (G) Aug. C. Jones, Kd.  
 " (G) A. B. Nichols.  
 " (H) R. E. Kennon.  
 " (H) W. A. Barden.  
 " (I) C. W. Matthews.  
 " (K) John H. Pickett.  
 " (K) A. M. Jones, Kd.  
 " (K) M. H. Marshall.  
 Ensign B. F. Shivers.

*18th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—750.*

Colonel William T. Wofford.  
 " S. Z. Ruff, Kd.  
 " Jos. Armstrong.  
 Lieutenant Colonel S. Z. Ruff.  
 " " F. M. Ford.  
 Major Jefferson Johnson.  
 " J. A. Stewart.  
 " W. G. Gallahan.  
 Captain (A) J. B. O'Neill.  
 " (B) J. A. Stewart.

Captain (C) D. L. Jarratt.  
 " (D) S. D. Irvin.  
 " (E) E. J. Starr.  
 " (F) J. C. Roper.  
 " (G) J. C. Maddox.  
 " (H) F. M. Ford.  
 " (I) Jos. Armstrong.  
 " (K) Jno. A. Crawford.  
 " (K) W. Brown.  
 " (K) L. C. Weems.

*19th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—752.*

Colonel W. W. Boyd.  
 " Andrew J. Hutchins.  
 " J. H. Neal.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Thos. C. Johnson.  
 " " A. J. Hutchins.  
 " " Jas. H. Neal.  
 " " T. W. Flynt.  
 " " R. B. Hogan.  
 Major A. J. Hutchins.  
 " J. H. Neal.  
 " J. W. Hooper.  
 " C. W. Mabry.  
 " Wm. Hamilton.  
 Adjutant Jas. P. Perkins.  
 " S. G. Turner.  
 Captain (A) F. M. Johnston.  
 " (B) Jas. H. Neal.

Captain (B) John Keely.  
 " (C) J. J. Beall.  
 " (C) R. B. Hogan.  
 " (D) Jas. D. Hunter.  
 " (E) Chas. W. Mabry.  
 " (E) D. H. Sims.  
 " (F) Wm. E. Curtis.  
 " (F) A. H. Black.  
 " (F) Wm. Hamilton.  
 " (G) Tilman W. Flynt.  
 " (H) John B. Beall.  
 " (I) John T. Chambers.  
 " (K) John W. Hooper.  
 " (A) John Morrison.  
 " (B) Jas. H. Neal.  
 " (B) Denis S. Myers.  
 " (C) A. J. Richardson.



Captain (G) — Elliott, Kd.  
 " (H) J. W. Neally.  
 " (I) T. W. Abercrombie.

Captain (I) — Lalor.  
 " (K) A. J. Rowe.

*20th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—764.*

Colonel W. D. Smith.  
 " J. B. Cumming.  
 " J. D. Waddell.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. B. Cumming.  
 " " John A. Jones, Kd.  
 " " E. M. Seago.  
 Major John A. Jones.  
 " Roger L. Gamble.  
 " J. D. Waddell.  
 " Wm. Craig.  
 Adjutant J. O. Waddell.

Captain (A) A. B. Ross.  
 " (B) John A. Strother.  
 " (C) Roger L. Gamble.  
 " (D) Jas. D. Waddell.  
 " (E) R. D. Little.  
 " (F) E. M. Seago.  
 " (G) John R. Ivey.  
 " (H) J. A. Coffee.  
 " (I) Van A. Leonard.  
 " (J) C. B. Minis.  
 " (K) Wm. Craig.

*21st Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—749.*

Colonel John T. Mercer, Kd.  
 " Thomas W. Hooper.  
 Lieutenant Colonel James J. Morrison.  
 " " Thomas W. Hooper.  
 " " T. C. Glover.  
 Major T. W. Hooper.  
 " T. C. Glover.  
 " M. Lynch.  
 Adjutant T. J. Verdery.  
 " L. F. Bakewell.  
 Captain (A) T. C. Glover.  
 " (A) W. M. Butt, Kd.

Captain (B) A. S. Hamilton.  
 " (C) J. F. Woddail, Kd.  
 " (D) H. T. Battle.  
 " (E) J. R. Hart.  
 " (F) John T. Boykin.  
 " (G) Wesley Kiuman.  
 " (G) N. B. Hudgins.  
 " (H) Jas. C. Nisbet.  
 " (H) John B. Countiss.  
 " (I) Michael Lynch.  
 " (K) John B. Akridge.

*22nd Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—805.*

Colonel Robert H. Jones.  
 " George H. Jones.  
 Lieutenant Colonel T. W. Pritchett.  
 " " Joseph Wasden, Kd.  
 Major J. Wasden.  
 " Lawrence D. Lallerstedt.  
 Adjutant I. A. Girardeau.  
 " S. L. Bedell.  
 " J. D. Daniel.  
 Captain (A) L. D. Lallerstedt.  
 " (A) G. W. Rush, Kd.  
 " (B) Thomas S. Hundley.  
 " (B) J. W. Walker.  
 " (B) F. M. Heath.  
 " (B) I. C. A. Beall.  
 " (C) B. C. McCurry.  
 " (D) John Gibson.

Captain (D) J. N. Mercier.  
 " (E) H. N. Howell.  
 " (E) J. D. Foster.  
 " (F) P. E. Willis.  
 " (G) J. J. Jones.  
 " (G) W. F. Jones, Dd.  
 " (G) G. W. Thomas.  
 " (H) J. D. W. McDonald.  
 " (H) F. M. Connally.  
 " (H) J. W. Leonard, Kd.  
 " (H) H. J. L. Beall.  
 " (I) George H. Jones.  
 " (I) A. B. Rodgers.  
 " (K) J. T. Albert, Kd.  
 " (K) J. W. Callaway, Kd.  
 " (K) F. M. Clayton.

*23rd Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—811.*

Colonel Thomas Hutcherson.  
 " W. P. Barclay, Kd.  
 " Emory F. Best.  
 " J. H. Huggins.  
 " M. R. Ballenger.  
 Lieutenant Colonel W. P. Barclay.

Lieutenant Colonel E. F. Best.  
 " " James H. Huggins.  
 " " M. R. Ballenger.  
 " " J. J. A. Sharp.  
 Major E. F. Best.  
 " J. H. Huggins.





Major M. R. Ballenger.  
 " J. J. A. Sharp.  
 " W. J. Boston.  
 Adjutant C. Saunders.  
 " E. Fort.  
 Captain (A) Ben G. Pool.  
 " (A) W. J. Boston.  
 " (B) J. H. Huggins.  
 " ("C") M. R. Ballenger.

Captain (C) H. T. Kennon.  
 " (D) John L. Steele.  
 " (E) James Lovless.  
 " (F) B. F. King.  
 " (F) R. W. Mitchell.  
 " (G) John J. A. Sharp.  
 " (H) Francis M. Young.  
 " (I) M. L. Pritchett.  
 " (K) Andrew Young.

*24th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—745.*

Colonel Robert McMillan.  
 " C. C. Saunders.  
 Lieutenant Colonel C. C. Sanders.  
 " " J. N. Chandler.  
 " " T. E. Winn.  
 Major R. E. McMillan.  
 " T. E. Winn.  
 " F. C. Smith.  
 Adjutant D. E. Banks.  
 " U. S. Turner.  
 Captain (A) J. N. Chandler.  
 " (B) P. E. Davant.  
 " (C) W. L. Smith, Kd.  
 " (C) F. C. Smith.

Captain (D) John Corn.  
 " (D) H. H. Smith, Kd.  
 " (E) J. N. Cannon, Kd.  
 " (E) H. P. Cannon, Dd.  
 " (F) J. H. F. Mattox.  
 " (F) T. E. Winn.  
 " (G) W. T. Leonard, Dd.  
 " (G) W. S. Brewster, Kd.  
 " (H) John H. Mosely, Dd.  
 " (H) George W. Keeling.  
 " (H) N. J. Dortch, Dd.  
 " (I) H. I. Pool.  
 " (K) J. G. Porter.  
 Ensign W. C. Sears.

*25th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers.*

Colonel C. C. Wilson.  
 " W. J. Winn.  
 Lieutenant Colonel W. P. M. Ashley.  
 " " W. H. Wylly.  
 " " A. J. Williams.  
 Major W. J. Winn.  
 " W. H. Wylly.  
 " A. W. Smith.  
 A. Q. M., W. D. Bacon.  
 Adjutant R. E. Lester.  
 Captain (A) A. W. Smith.  
 " (B) M. L. Bryan.  
 " (C) J. Roberts.

Captain (D) A. J. Williams.  
 " (E) W. S. Norman.  
 " (F) George T. Dunham.  
 " (G) W. D. Hamilton.  
 " (H) W. H. Wylly.  
 " (I) A. H. Smith.  
 " (K) M. J. McMullen.  
 " (L) R. J. McClary.  
 " (B) Jos. Bryan.  
 " (D) J. R. Cooper.  
 " (D) A. Jackson.  
 " (G) Jas. W. Best.

*25th Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized.—870.*

Captain (A) W. H. Wylly.  
 " (B) A. W. Smith.  
 " (C) R. J. McClary.  
 " (D) A. H. Smith.  
 " (E) G. W. Holmes.  
 " (F) R. R. Young.

Captain (F) J. R. Moore.  
 " (A) J. C. Bryan, Cashl.  
 " (A) J. C. Howell.  
 " (H) S. D. Bradwell.  
 " (I) J. M. Smith.  
 " (K) J. R. Cooper.

*26th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—951.*

Colonel C. W. Styles.  
 " E. A. Atkinson.  
 Lieutenant Colonel W. A. Lane.  
 " " E. S. Griffin.  
 " " J. S. Blain.  
 " " Wm. A. McDonald.  
 Major Thos. N. Garduer

Major E. S. Griffin.  
 " J. S. Blain.  
 " B. F. Grace.  
 Adjutant E. A. Atkinson.  
 " Andrew J. Lyles.  
 Captain (A) G. C. Dent.  
 " (B) A. S. Atkinson.



Captain (C) J. C. Nichols.  
 " (D) D. J. McDonald.  
 " (E) Eli S. Griffin.  
 " (F) Wm. H. Dasher.  
 " (G) Ben. F. Mosely.  
 " (H) Wm. A. McDonald.  
 " (I) Alex. Atkinson.  
 " (K) Jas. S. Blain.  
 " (L) Ben. A. White, Jr.  
 " (L) M. R. Cogdell. Reorganized.  
 " (A) Jas. S. Blain.  
 " (A) N. Dixon.  
 " (B) A. Atkinson.

Captain (B) Jas. H. Hunter.  
 " (C) Jas. Knox.  
 " (D) David Davidson.  
 " (E) E. S. Griffin.  
 " (F) John Lee.  
 " (G) C. M. Howell.  
 " (H) J. P. Smith.  
 " (H) R. Paxton.  
 " (I) C. W. Hilliard.  
 " (I) Thos. J. Ivey.  
 " (K) B. F. Grace.  
 " (K) J. Hilton.

*27th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—721.*

Colonel Levi B. Smith.  
 " C. T. Zachry.  
 Lieutenant Colonel C. T. Zachry.  
 " — Brewer.  
 " " John W. Stubbs.  
 " " J. M. Dorsey.  
 " " James Gardner, Kd.  
 " " H. Bussey.  
 Major H. B. Holliday.  
 " C. J. Dennis.  
 " J. Gardner.  
 " H. Bussey.  
 " W. H. Renfro, Kd.  
 " I. D. Graham.  
 Adjutant J. Gardner.  
 " I. B. Pye.  
 A. C. S. Thomas Bacon, Kd.  
 " J. M. Zachry.  
 A. Q. M., H. B. Holliday.  
 " G. B. Buchanan.  
 Captain (E) — Spratlin, Dd.  
 " (E) J. M. Zachry.  
 " (A) P. C. Carr, Dd.

Captain (A) W. E. Dougherty.  
 " (B) J. W. Stubbs.  
 " (B) J. J. Allen.  
 " (C) C. J. Denis.  
 " (C) J. W. Murray.  
 " (C) W. W. Johnston.  
 " (C) Thomas Grace.  
 " (D) J. N. Dorsey.  
 " (D) Geo. Latham.  
 " (E) W. H. Renfro.  
 " (E) — Abercrombie.  
 " (F) J. Wilcher.  
 " (F) — Edwards.  
 " (G) W. D. Redding.  
 " (G) M. L. Billingsley.  
 " (H) C. T. Zachry.  
 " (H) W. H. Delamar, Kd.  
 " (H) R. A. Harkie.  
 " (I) O. A. Lee, Kd.  
 " (I) J. D. Graham.  
 " (I) — Baxley.  
 " (K) H. Bussey.  
 " (K) C. Calhoun.

*28th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—718.*

Colonel T. J. Warthen, Dd.  
 " Tully Graybill.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Geo. A. Hall.  
 " " James G. Cain.  
 " " W. P. Crawford.  
 Major J. G. Cain.  
 " Tully Graybill.  
 " Jas. W. Banning.  
 Adjutant J. W. Robinson.  
 Captain (A) Tully Graybill.  
 " (A) J. R. Tacker.  
 " (B) E. B. Hook.

Captain (B) R. W. Flournoy.  
 " (C) Wm. P. Crawford.  
 " (D) N. J. Garrison.  
 " (E) Geo. R. Moore.  
 " (F) Jessie Burtz.  
 " (F) L. R. Wade.  
 " (G) John Hill, Jr.  
 " (H) Wm. L. Johnson.  
 " (H) J. A. Johnson.  
 " (I) Isaac F. Adkins.  
 " (K) John N. Wilcox.

*29th Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—850.*

Colonel R. Spaulding.  
 " Wm. J. Young.  
 Lieutenant Colonel T. W. Alexander.  
 " " W. D. Mitchell.

Major L. J. Knight.  
 " J. C. Lamb.  
 Adjutant G. Butler.  
 Captain (A) C. S. Rockwell



Captain (B) W. J. Young.  
 " (C) T. S. Wylly.  
 " (D) J. C. Lamb.  
 " (E) F. M. Jackson.  
 " (F) W. W. Billopp.

Captain (G) I. J. Owen.  
 " (H) W. D. Mitchell.  
 " (I) J. W. Turner.  
 " (K) H. C. Bowan.

*29th Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized.*

Captain (A) J. D. Henderson.  
 " (B) W. W. Spencer.  
 " (C) L. J. Knight.

Captain (D) J. C. Lamb.  
 " (E) B. Y. Stanford.

*30th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—767.*

Colonel David J. Bailey.  
 " Thomas W. Maugham.  
 " James S. Boynton.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Miles M. Tidwell.  
 " Thomas W. Maugham.  
 " Jas. S. Boynton.  
 Major Cicero A. Thorpe.  
 " J. R. Boynton.  
 " Henry Hendricks.  
 A. C. S., A. N. McLarty.  
 " J. C. Little.  
 A. Q. M., J. C. Hightower.

Adjutant J. W. McCord.  
 Captain (A) John L. Barnett.  
 " (B) H. Hendrick.  
 " (C) J. G. Lindsey.  
 " (D) Thos. C. Bartlett.  
 " (E) Robert M. Hitch.  
 " (F) Wm. N. Magonick.  
 " (G) John Edmondson.  
 " (H) Francis M. Harrall.  
 " (I) C. A. Dollar.  
 " (K) Wm. B. Richards.

*30th Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized—728.*

Captain (A) Felix L. Matthalh.  
 " (B) Henry Kendrick.  
 " (C) R. J. Andrews.  
 " (D) Hudson Whitaker.  
 " (E) R. M. Hitch.  
 " (F) Elm N. Magonick.

Captain (G) John Edmondson.  
 " (H) Jno W. McLeod.  
 " (I) F. M. Harrell.  
 " (J) C. A. Dollar.  
 " (K) Geo. T. Longino.

*31st Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—800.*

Colonel P. J. Phillips.  
 " Clement A. Evans.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Daniel P. Hill.  
 " J. T. Crow.  
 Major C. A. Evans.  
 " J. H. Lowe.  
 A. C. S., J. H. Sutton.  
 A. Q. M., A. B. Redding.  
 Adjutant J. H. Woodbridge.  
 " Wm. M. Head.

Captain (A) Apollo Forrester.  
 " (B) Rodolphus T. Pride.  
 " (C) Archer Griffetts.  
 " (D) John T. Crowder.  
 " (E) L. B. Redding.  
 " (F) Warren D. Wood.  
 " (G) J. H. Lowe.  
 " (H) John W. Murphy.  
 " (I) Geo. W. Lewis.  
 " (K) R. H. Fletcher.

*31st Georgia Volunteers, Reorganized.*

Captain (A) A. Forrester, Dd.  
 " (A) C. L. Shorter.  
 " (B) R. T. Pride.  
 " (C) J. G. Sanders.  
 " (D) Thos. B. Settle.  
 " (E) L. R. Redding.

Captain (F) M. D. Wood.  
 " (G) J. H. Love.  
 " (H) J. W. Murphy.  
 " (I) Geo. W. Lewis.  
 " (K) R. H. Fletcher.  
 " (K) S. W. Thornton.

*32d Georgia Volunteers, Infantry—880.*

Colonel Geo. P. Harrison, Jr.  
 Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Pruden.  
 " E. H. Bacon.

Major E. H. Bacon, Jr.  
 " W. Y. Holland.  
 Adjutant G. M. Blount.



Captain (A) W. Y. Holland.  
 " (A) W. D. Cornwell.  
 " (B) J. B. McDowell.  
 " (C) S. J. Heath.  
 " (D) R. K. Hines.  
 " (D) J. A. Hines.  
 " (E) S. A. H. Jones.

Captain (E) P. R. Talliaferro.  
 " (F) C. A. Willis.  
 " (G) J. A. Phillips.  
 " (H) S. D. Mobley.  
 " (I) J. F. Lewis.  
 " (K) F. G. Godlee.  
 " (K) J. L. McElhurry.

### 33d Georgia Volunteers.

Colonel A. Littlefield.

### 34th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers.

Colonel J. A. W. Johnson.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Bradley.  
 Major Thos. T. Donough.  
 " John M. Jackson.  
 Adjutant I. J. McLendon.  
 Captain (A) Caleb Chitwood.  
 " (B) Thomas A. Neal.  
 " (C) R. A. Jones.

Captain (D) Wm. E. Brock.  
 " (E) Jordan Rowland.  
 " (F) W. A. Walker.  
 " (G) G. M. Blackwill.  
 " (H) John M. Jackson.  
 " (I) A. T. Bennett.  
 " (K) A. P. Daniel.

### 35th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—656.

Colonel E. L. Thomas  
 " Bolling H. Holt.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Gustavus A. Bull.  
 " " B. H. Holt.  
 " " W. H. McCullough.  
 Major B. H. Holt.  
 " W. H. McCullough.  
 " W. L. Groves.  
 " L. A. Williams.  
 " J. T. McElvany.  
 Adjutant J. H. Ware, Kd.  
 " S. W. Thomas.  
 Captain (A) Wm. I. Head.

Captain (B) I. M. White.  
 " (C) D. B. Henry, Kd.  
 " (D) L. A. J. Williams.  
 " (D) J. M. Mitchell.  
 " (D) I. P. Johnston.  
 " (E) E. R. Whitley.  
 " (F) R. M. Rawlings, Dd.  
 " (F) J. T. McElvany.  
 " (G) Wm. S. Barrett.  
 " (H) A. K. Richardson.  
 " (I) W. L. Groves.  
 " (I) S. T. Irvine.  
 " (K) W. H. McCulloch.

### 36th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—986.

Colonel Jesse A. Glenn.  
 " C. E. Broyles.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Alex. M. Wallace.  
 Major Chas. E. Broyles.  
 " Jno. Loudermilk.  
 Adjutant John S. Ault  
 Captain (A) J. W. Aderhold.  
 " (B) H. J. Sprayberry.  
 " (D) J. R. Rhodes.  
 " (E) W. H. Howard, Jr.  
 " (F) J. P. Girardy.  
 " (G) R. T. English.  
 " (H) J. T. Kerr.  
 " (I) J. N. Edwards.

Captain (K) E. S. Amos.  
 " (A) Joseph Glenn.  
 " (B) Geo. A. Cooper.  
 " (C) B. B. White.  
 " (C) F. M. Dwight.  
 " (D) Jno. Loudermilk.  
 " (E) J. D. Gilbert.  
 " (F) E. L. Martin.  
 " (G) D. H. Fledge.  
 " (H) A. P. Roberts.  
 " (I) J. L. Morgan.  
 " (K) A. A. Dyer.  
 " (L) Thos. Williams.

### 37th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers.

Colonel A. F. Rudler.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. T. Smith.  
 Major J. J. Bradford.

Major R. E. Wilson.  
 Adjutant G. H. Sherod.  
 Captain (A) R. E. Wilson.





Captain (B) T. E. Blanchard.  
 " (D) J. G. McMullan, Kd.  
 " (D) W. M. Clark.  
 " (I) M. Kendrick, Dd.

Captain (I) T. D. Wright.  
 " (I) Wm. Hutchinson.  
 " (K) W. H. H. Phelps.

*38th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—775.*

Colonel A. R. Wright.  
 " Geo. W. Lee.  
 " J. D. Mathews.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Geo. W. Lee.  
 " " Lewis J. Parr.  
 " " J. D. Mathews.  
 " " P. E. Davant.  
 Major L. J. Parr.  
 " T. H. Bomar.  
 Captain (A) Wm. L. McLeod, Kd.  
 " (B) Robert P. Eberhart.  
 " (C) John Y. Flowers.  
 " (D) Geo. W. McClesky, Kd.

Captain (E) Wm. H. Battey, Kd.  
 " (E) J. W. Brinson.  
 " (E) L. W. Farmer, Kd.  
 " (F) Cornelius R. Haukleiter.  
 " (G) Wm. Wright.  
 " (G) Geo. F. Robinson.  
 " (H) Thomas H. Bomar.  
 " (I) John C. Thornton.  
 " (I) J. O. Maxwell.  
 " (K) Jas. D. Mathews.  
 " (K) Chas. A. Hawkins, Kd.  
 " (K) R. T. Donough.  
 " (K) L. H. T. Bomar.

*39th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—899.*

Colonel J. T. McConnell, Dd.  
 " J. F. B. Jackson.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. F. B. Jackson.  
 Major J. H. Randall.  
 Adjutant W. M. McCallister.  
 Captain (A) L. W. Crook.  
 " (B) T. H. Pitner.  
 " (C) Timothy Ford.

Captain (D) J. W. Cureton.  
 " (E) C. D. Hill.  
 " (E) H. B. Osborne.  
 " (F) Jas. H. Anderson.  
 " (G) B. J. Brown.  
 " (K) J. W. Brady, Kd.  
 " (I) John D. Hayes.  
 " (H) Wm. H. Edwards.

*40th Georgia Infantry, Volunteers.*

Colonel Abda Johnson.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Robert M. Young.  
 Major Raleigh G. Camp.  
 Adjutant G. W. Warwick.  
 Captain (A) Jno H. Matthews.  
 " (B) John U. Dobbs.  
 " (C) Z. B. Hargrove.

Captain (D) Francis H. Hall.  
 " (E) J. F. Groover.  
 " (F) John Middlebrooks.  
 " (G) Thos. J. Foster.  
 " (H) Joseph L. Neel.  
 " (I) Abda Johnson.  
 " (K) Alex. Murchison.

*41st Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—683.*

Colonel Charles A. McDaniel.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Wm. E. Curtis.  
 Major John Knight.  
 " W. S. Nall.  
 Adjutant E. Elless.  
 A. Q. M., A. D. Abrahams.  
 Captain (A) J. E. Stallings.  
 " (B) Geo. N. Lester.  
 " (B) D. McCleskey.  
 " (B) Thomas I. Dobbs.

Captain (C) Geo. S. Avery.  
 " (D) Jno. W. Powell.  
 " (E) J. C. Curtwright.  
 " (F) A. D. Abrahams.  
 " (F) S. D. Clements.  
 " (G) Washington Henibree.  
 " (G) R. A. Wood.  
 " (H) Newton J. Ross.  
 " (I) W. B. Thomason.  
 " (K) J. J. Bowen.

*42d Georgia Infantry, Volunteers—929.*

Colonel Robert J. Henderson.  
 Lieutenant Colonel R. F. Maddox.  
 " Wm. H. Hulsey.  
 Major W. H. Hulsey.

Major L. P. Thomas.  
 Adjutant H. M. Wylie.  
 Captain (A) L. P. Thomas.  
 " (B) B. P. Weaver.



Captain (C) H. W. Parris.  
 " (D) Nathan Clay.  
 " (E) T. J. Mercer.  
 " (F) Jas. M. Summers.

Captain (G) Enoch E. McCollum.  
 " (H) J. T. Mitchell.  
 " (I) John H. Barrett.  
 " (K) Wm. L. Calhoun.

### 43rd Georgia Infantry Volunteers—1060.

Colonel Skidmore Harris.  
 " H. C. Kellogg.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Hiram P. Bell.  
 Major Henry C. Kellogg.  
 Adjutant J. S. Allen.  
 Captain (A) Wm. F. Mullins.  
 " (A) A. M. Reinhardt.  
 " (A) W. I. Sloan.  
 " (B) M. M. Grantham.  
 " (C) Ben. F. Hanie.  
 " (D) Wm. P. Brown.

Captain (D) M. J. Ragsdale.  
 " (E) Thos. G. Pilgrim.  
 " (F) James F. Law.  
 " (F) Cicero H. Furr.  
 " (G) M. M. Mintz.  
 " (G) J. M. Storey.  
 " (H) H. R. Howard.  
 " (I) W. C. Lester.  
 " (K) John F. Rives.  
 " (L) M. H. West.

### 44th Georgia Volunteers—318.

Colonel Robert A. Smith.  
 " John B. Estes.  
 " Sam'l. P. Lumpkins.  
 " Wm. H. Peebles.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. B. Estes.  
 " " S. P. Lumpkin.  
 " " W. H. Peebles.  
 " " Jas. W. Beck.  
 Major Richard O. Banks.  
 " Jos. W. Adams, Dd.  
 " W. H. Peebles.  
 " J. W. Beck.  
 " John C. Key.  
 Adjutant Chas. M. Wiley.  
 Captain (A) W. H. Peebles.  
 " (A) H. M. Credille.  
 " (B) John C. Key.  
 " (B) Jas. Henderson.

Captain (C) Sam'l. P. Lumpkin.  
 " (D) John B. Estes.  
 " (D) R. R. Hanes.  
 " (E) Joseph W. Adams.  
 " (E) J. H. Connally.  
 " (F) David L. Hitchcock.  
 " (F) C. D. Pearson.  
 " (F) G. G. Green, Kd.  
 " (F) J. B. Reese.  
 " (G) John Kuie.  
 " (G) J. L. Blalock.  
 " (H) Jno. C. Redding.  
 " (H) Jno. W. Butler.  
 " (I) Chas. W. Alliston, Kd.  
 " (I) J. H. Harris.  
 " (I) Jas. W. Beck.  
 " (I) Thomas T. Eason.

### 45th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—686.

Colonel Thomas Hardeman.  
 " Thomas J. Simmons.  
 Lieutenant Colonel T. J. Simmons.  
 " " W. L. Grice.  
 " " J. W. Carter.  
 " " W. S. Wallace.  
 " " C. A. Conn, Kd.  
 Major W. L. Grice.  
 " M. R. Rogers.  
 " J. W. Carter.  
 " A. W. Gibson.  
 Adjutant Geo. F. Cherry.  
 Captain (A) M. R. Rogers.  
 " (A) W. H. Shaw.  
 " (A) Geo. F. Cherry.  
 " (B) J. W. Dozier.

Captain (C) Jas. M. Carter.  
 " (C) John H. Baskins, Dd.  
 " (C) H. G. Lamar.  
 " (D) Jos. H. White, Dd.  
 " (D) Jesse Mays.  
 " (E) Wm. S. Wallace.  
 " (F) Richard M. Bonner.  
 " (F) John Hardeman.  
 " (G) C. A. Conn.  
 " (H) Wm. M. Davis.  
 " (H) John G. Brown.  
 " (H) W. D. Killen.  
 " (I) L. J. Dunree.  
 " (I) J. I. Hall.  
 " (I) J. M. Carter.  
 " (K) A. W. Gibson.



*46th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—883.*

Colonel Peyton H. Colquitt, Kd.	Captain (D) E. G. Raiford.
" S. J. C. Dunlap.	" (E) Wm. A. Andrews.
Lieutenant Colonel Wm. A. Daniel.	" (F) John P. Beaty.
Major Alex M. Speer.	" (F) R. M. Dixon.
" S. J. C. Dunlap.	" (G) G. A. Ball.
Adjutant W. W. Charlton.	" (G) Malcomb Gillis.
" W. R. Bedell.	" (H) Eleazer Taylor.
Captain (A) T. B. Hancock.	" (I) W. F. Moore.
" (B) Sam'l J. C. Dunlap.	" (I) W. A. Davis.
" (C) A. H. Cooper, Kd.	" (K) A. G. Bedell.
" (C) T. C. Tillman.	" (K) I. F. Pou.

*47th Georgia Volunteers—814.*

Colonel G. W. M. Williams, Dd.	Major J. S. Cone.
" A. C. Edwards.	" A. G. Cone.
Lieutenant Colonel A. C. Edwards.	Adjutant B. S. Williams.
" W. S. Phillips.	Captain (A) M. J. Doyle.
" J. S. Cone.	" (B) Pat. Gormley, Cashd.

*48th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—1052.*

Colonel William Gibson.	Captain (D) John W. Harlow, Kd.
" M. R. Hall.	" (D) U. L. Skinner.
Lieutenant Colonel R. W. Carswell.	" (E) T. H. Polhill, Kd.
" M. R. Hall.	" (E) R. W. Carswell.
Major J. R. Whitehead.	" (E) W. J. Smith.
" M. R. Hall.	" (F) Thos. W. Kent.
Adjutant Julian Cumming.	" (G) Ulysses A. Rice.
" T. H. Gibson.	" (G) T. J. Roberston.
Captain (A) A. Kelley, Kd.	" (H) Niell McLeod.
" (B) M. R. Hall.	" (H) A. C. Flanders.
" (C) H. J. Dortie, Dd.	" (I) R. J. Wilson.
" (C) L. G. Doughty, Kd.	" (K) T. J. Hamilton.
" (C) J. K. Evans.	" (K) D. T. Wilson.

*49th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—762.*

Colonel Andrew J. Lane.	Captain (C) Wm. M. Carter.
" S. T. Player.	" (C) J. T. Jordan.
" J. T. Jordan.	" (D) Wm. F. Holden.
Lieutenant Colonel Seaborn M. Manning.	" (D) John Durham.
" Jonathan Rivers.	" (E) Sam'l D. Fuller.
" S. T. Player.	" (E) A. C. McLennon.
" O. H. Cooke.	" (F) O. H. Cooke.
" J. T. Jordan.	" (F) T. D. Wilcox.
" W. J. Williams.	" (G) Jas. T. Cappell.
Major J. Rivers.	" (G) H. B. Stanley.
" S. T. Player.	" (H) A. D. Jernigan.
" J. H. Pate.	" (H) C. M. Jones, Kd.
" W. J. Williams.	" (H) W. G. Bell.
" John Durham.	" (I) Jas. J. Lawrence.
" J. B. Duggan.	" (I) A. J. Lane.
Adjutant M. Newman.	" (I) J. W. Allen.
Captain (A) S. T. Player.	" (K) H. H. Whitfield.
" (A) J. B. Duggan.	" (K) S. M. Manning.
" (B) Jas. Humphreys, Dd.	" (K) J. H. Pate.
" (B) W. J. Williams.	" (K) O. A. V. Rose.





*50th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—974.*

Colonel W. R. Manning.	Captain (C) John M. Spence.
“ Peter McGlashan.	“ (D) Jas. T. Beville.
Lieutenant Colonel F. Kearse.	“ (E) Cicero H. Young.
“ “ W. O. Fleming.	“ (F) Duncan Curry.
Major P. C. Pendleton.	“ (F) W. O. Fleming.
“ D. Curm.	“ (G) John B. Osteen.
“ W. O. Fleming.	“ (H) Jesse M. Wells.
“ P. Sheftall.	“ (I) E. C. Morgan.
Adjutant Jas. P. Graves.	“ (I) C. Townsend.
Captain (A) Jno. T. Wilson.	“ (K) Pliny Sheffield.
“ (B) P. B. Bedford.	“ (K) John G. McCall.
“ (B) P. C. Pendleton.	“ (F) H. L. Reeves.

*51st Georgia Infantry Volunteers—968.*

Colonel W. M. Slaughter, Dd.	Captain (B) W. C. Ware, Kd.
“ E. Ball.	“ (B) W. H. Chastain.
“ James Dickey.	“ (C) A. Cambie.
Lieutenant Colonel E. Ball.	“ (C) J. W. Brooks.
“ “ O. P. Anthony.	“ (D) F. M. D. Hopkins.
“ “ J. Dickey.	“ (E) James Dickey.
“ “ J. P. Crawford.	“ (F) B. J. Kendrick.
Major O. P. Anthony.	“ (F) T. M. Jones.
“ H. M. Dunwoody..	“ (G) John P. Crawford.
“ Jas. Dickey.	“ (H) Edward Ball.
“ J. P. Crawford.	“ (H) Wm. F. Davis.
Adjutant J. H. West.	“ (I) O. P. Anthony.
Captain (A) H. M. Dunwoody.	“ (I) S. A. McLendon.
“ (A) S. Alexander, Kd.	“ (K) Wm. M. Slaughter.
“ (A) W. R. McLean.	“ (K) Richard Hobbs.

*52nd Georgia Infantry Volunteers—890.*

Colonel Wier Boyd.	Captain (D) J. W. Woodward.
Lieutenant Colonel C. D. Phillips.	“ (E) D. W. Killian.
Adjutant W. A. James.	“ (F) S. M. Beck.
Captain (A) S. H. Vandiviere.	“ (G) Lewis B. Beard.
“ (B) John J. Moore.	“ (H) W. W. Brown.
“ (C) R. R. Asbury.	“ (I) John R. Russell.
“ (D) John A. Parker.	“ (K) T. F. Cooper.

*53rd Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel L. T. Doyal.	Captain (D) J. W. Hance, Kd.
“ James P. Sims.	“ (E) Jas. P. Sims.
Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Sloan.	“ (E) S. W. Glass.
Major J. P. Sims.	“ (F) Thomas Sloan.
Adjutant John F. Hanson.	“ (G) R. P. Taylor.
Captain (A) T. W. Atkies.	“ (H) W. B. Baker.
“ (B) Thos. W. Sims.	“ (C) Sam'l W. Marshbone.
“ (I) J. M. D. Bonds.	“ (K) J. M. Pender.

*54th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—815.*

Colonel Charlton H. Way.	Captain (D) A. S. Roberts.
Lieutenant Colonel Morgan Rawls.	“ (E) J. D. Evans.
Major Wm. H. Mann.	“ (E) H. M. Tally.
Adjutant T. H. Brantley.	“ (F) W. T. Chisholm.
Captain (A) T. W. Brantley.	“ (G) Geo. W. Knight.
“ (B) Geo. W. Moody.	“ (H) C. R. Russell.
“ (C) D. A. Green.	“ (I) L. L. Elkins.
“ (C) T. M. Brantley.	“ (K) Geo. Eason.



*55th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—1008.*

Colonel C. B. Harkie, Cashd.	Captain (C) Wm. J. Collins.
" A. W. Persons.	" (D) John G. Lester.
" D. S. Printup.	" (E) Ben R. Kendrick, Kd.
Lieutenant Colonel A. W. Persons.	" (F) H. W. Baker.
" " D. S. Printup.	" (F) J. J. Roberson.
Major D. S. Printup.	" (G) R. L. Mitchell.
" M. P. Tucker.	" (H) J. P. Allen.
A. C. S., — Wright.	" (I) D. A. Lee, Dd.
Adjutant R. C. Saxon.	" (K) M. P. Tucker.
Captain (A) Turner J. Ball.	" (L) E. M. Westbrook.
" (B) James M. Griffin.	

*56th Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel E. P. Watkins.	Captain (D) W. S. Monroe.
Lieutenant Colonel J. T. Slaughter.	" (E) J. F. Albert.
Major M. L. Poole.	" (F) P. H. Prather, Kd.
" J. P. Brewster.	" (G) E. M. Streetman.
Adjutant Jas. N. Bass.	" (H) J. M. Parrish.
Captain (A) J. P. Brewster.	" (I) J. M. Cobb.
" (B) J. B. Martin.	" (K) B. T. Sherman.
" (C) J. A. Grice.	" (K) J. H. Harrison.

*57th Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel Wm. Barkaloo.	Captain (C) Lucius Q. Tucker.
Lieutenant Colonel E. S. Guyton.	" (D) Henry K. Byington.
Major John W. Shinholser.	" (E) C. H. Richardson.
A. C. S., M. W. Johnston.	" (F) John F. Vinson.
Assistant Quartermaster H. Cleveland.	" (G) James P. Jordan.
Adjutant T. J. Dyson.	" (H) John R. Bonner.
" Stephen De Bruhl.	" (I) George W. Bishop.
" Geo. R. Hunter.	" (K) J. W. Shinholser.
Captain (A) L. C. Bryan.	" (K) J. N. Shinholser.
" (B) James M. Smith.	

*58th Georgia Volunteers.**59th Georgia Infantry Volunteers—833.*

Colonel Jack Brown.	Captain (D) D. C. Smith.
Lieutenant Colonel C. J. Harris.	" (D) B. H. Miller.
" " B. H. Gee.	" (E) M. G. Bass.
Major B. H. Gee.	" (E) B. L. Brown.
" C. J. Harris.	" (F) James M. Rouse.
" M. G. Bass.	" (G) G. F. Brown.
" W. H. Fickling.	" (H) Jack Brown.
A. C. S., W. A. Sparks.	" (H) F. M. Robinson.
Assistant Quartermaster B. F. Bruton.	" (H) W. W. Train.
Adjutant H. Marshall.	" (I) E. Cain, Dd.
" M. F. Bass.	" (I) John W. Hutchinson.
Captain (A) B. H. Gee.	" (K) C. J. Harris.
" (B) John G. Collins.	" (K) F. W. Johnson.
" (C) W. H. Ficklin.	" (K) S. H. Gates.

*60th Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel W. H. Stiles.	A. C. S., A. D. Murray.
" W. B. Jones.	Assistant Quartermaster D. N. Speer.
Lieutenant Colonel Thomas J. Berry.	Adjutant B. F. Keller.
Major W. B. Jones.	" R. L. McFarlin.



Captain (A) T. D. Bertody.	Captain (F) W. P. Jarrett.
" (B) W. B. Jones.	" (G) John B. Colding, Kd.
" (C) J. C. Wardlaw.	" (H) W. H. Stiles.
" (C) James C. Ward.	" (H) W. C. Leake.
" (C) J. A. Edmondson.	" (I) B. F. Fariss.
" (D) W. Talliaferro.	" (K) W. H. Howard.
" (E) J. W. Beck.	

*61st Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel John H. Lamar.	Captain (E) C. W. McArthur.
Lieutenant Colonel J. Y. McDuffie.	" (E) T. M. McRae.
" " C. W. McArthur.	" (F) P. Brennan.
Major A. P. McRae.	" (G) W. Fanning.
" Peter Brennan.	" (H) J. M. Dasher.
" H. Tillman.	" (I) J. D. Van Valkenburg.
Assistant Quartermaster Geo. Higgins.	" (K) E. F. Sharpe.
Adjutant G. W. Lamar.	" (C) J. A. Edmondson.
" G. C. Connor.	" (G) H. T. Colley.
Captain (A) G. D. Wilcox.	" (A) J. Y. McDuffie.
" (B) D. R. A. Johnson.	" (D) H. Tillman.
" (C) Dan'l. McDonald.	" (B) A. P. McRae, Kd.
" (D) S. H. Kennedy.	

*62nd Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel J. R. Griffin.	Captain (C) W. L. A. Ellis.
Lieutenant Colonel Randolph Townes.	" (D) Wm. H. Faucett.
" " John T. Kennedy.	" (D) R. Duvall.
Major John T. Kennedy.	" (E) W. A. Thompson.
" W. L. A. Ellis.	" (F) S. B. Jones.
A. C. S., T. Meara.	" (G) Pat. Gray.
" W. R. Baldwin.	" (H) Thos. A. Janes.
Adjutant B. B. Bower.	" (H) A. P. Newhart.
" W. A. Holson.	" (I) Jno. A. Richardson.
Captain (A) John P. Davis.	" (K) E. W. Westbrook.
" (B) Jas. W. Nichols.	" (K) S. L. Turner.
" (B) B. B. Bower.	" (L) Theo. G. Barham.

*63rd Georgia Infantry Volunteers—986.*

Colonel George A. Gordon.	Captain (C) E. J. Craven.
Lieutenant Colonel Geo. R. Black.	" (D) E. H. Harrison.
Major John R. Giles.	" (E) Thad. Oliver.
" J. V. H. Allen.	" (F) John H. Lossier.
A. C. S., G. W. Lamar.	" (G) D. N. Martin.
Assistant Quartermaster C. J. White.	" (H) H. H. Scranton.
Adjutant J. S. Hammond.	" (I) C. W. Howard.
Captain (A) J. V. H. Allen.	" (K) Wm. J. Dextra.
" (B) James T. Buckner.	

*64th Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel John W. Evans, Kd.	Captain (B) T. J. Pritchett.
" W. H. Weems.	" (C) N. W. Garrard.
Lieutenant Colonel James Barrow, Kd.	" (D) Geo. S. Thomas.
" " W. H. Weems.	" (E) C. S. Jenkins.
Major W. H. Weems.	" (F) P. Robinson.
" C. S. Jenkins.	" (G) D. C. Smith.
Assistant Quartermaster E. R. Peabody.	" (G) C. A. C. Waller.
Adjutant J. A. Byrd.	" (H) S. A. Townsley.
Captain (A) John K. Redd.	" (I) J. T. McClusky, Cashd.



*65th Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel C. J. Smith.	Adjutant T. W. Alexander.
“ John S. Fain.	Captain (A) S. F. Williams.
“ R. H. Moore.	“ (B) Andrew H. Morris.
“ W. G. Foster.	“ (C) John H. Craven.
Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Fain.	“ (D) W. G. Foster.
“ “ R. H. Moore.	“ (E) W. F. Thomas.
“ J. W. Pearce.	“ (F) A. Rudolph.
Major B. F. Browne.	“ (G) John W. Holmes.
“ R. H. Moore.	“ (H) F. M. Kitchens.
“ J. W. Percy.	“ (I) Henry L. Smith.
“ S. F. Williams.	“ (K) W. W. Grant
A. C. S., W. A. Martin.	

*66th Georgia Infantry Volunteers.*

Colonel J. C. Nisbet.	Captain (F) A. H. Reid.
Lieutenant Colonel	“ (G) G. V. Hall.
Major	“ (I) J. Thoruton.
A. C. S.	

*Cobb's Georgia Legion—1018.*

Colonel Thos. R. R. Cobb, Kd.	Inf. Captain (B) W. W. McDaniel.
“ Pierce M. B. Young.	“ (C) L. J. Glenn.
“ G. I. Wright.	“ (C) M. F. Liddell.
Lieutenant Colonel P. M. B. Young.	“ (C) A. C. Grier.
“ “ G. B. Knight.	“ (D) Thomas Camack.
“ “ Jeff. M. Lamar, Dd.	“ (D) W. A. Winn, Kd.
“ “ Luther J. Glenn.	“ (D) Jas. F. Wilson.
“ “ R. S. King.	“ (E) W. S. C. Morris.
“ “ Wm. G. Deloney.	“ (E) T. B. Cox.
Major Ben. C. Yancey.	“ (F) W. F. S. Powell.
“ J. M. Lamar.	“ (G) G. B. Knight.
“ W. G. Deloney.	“ (G) J. C. Barnett.
“ L. J. Glenn.	Cav. Captain (A) T. P. Stovall.
“ Z. A. Rice.	“ (A) J. J. Thompson.
“ Thos. M. Camack.	“ (B) Z. A. Rice.
“ G. I. Wright.	“ (C) W. G. Deloney.
“ W. D. Conyers.	“ (C) T. C. Williams.
Adjutant J. C. Rutherford.	“ (D) W. J. Lawton.
Inf. Captain (A) W. D. Conyers.	Art. “ (A) M. Stanley.
“ (B) C. A. McDaniel.	

*Phillip's Georgia Legion—725.*

Colonel Wm. Phillips.	Adjutant J. A. Matthias.
“ John S. Norris.	Inf. Captain (A) O. R. Daniel.
Lieutenant Colonel Seaborn Jones, Jr.	“ (B) R. T. Cook.
“ “ R. T. Cook, Kd.	“ (B) Thos. Hamilton.
“ “ E. T. Barclay.	First Lieutenant (B) J. F. B. Jackson.
“ “ J. Hamilton.	Captain (C) E. S. Barclay.
“ “ W. W. Rich.	“ (C) J. S. Norris.
Major John D. Wilcoxson.	“ (C) A. S. Erwin.
“ W. P. C. Puckett.	“ (D) H. F. Wimberley.
“ Joseph Hamilton.	“ (E) Jos. Hamilton.
“ E. S. Barclay.	“ (F) Jackson Barnes.
Adjutant Jas. H. Lawrence.	“ (G) Chas. Dubignon.
“ J. W. Wofford.	“ (H) W. W. Rich.
“ F. S. Fuller.	“ (H) J. F. Mithollin.





Captain (I) W. B. C. Puckett.  
 " (K) R. S. Y. Lony.  
 " (I) J. M. Johnson.  
 " (L) J. T. Lowry.  
 " (M) J. F. McClesky.  
 " (M) Sam'l. Y. Harris.  
 " (N) S. S. Dunlap.  
 " (O) T. K. Sproull.  
 " (O) H. I. McCormick.  
 " (P) W. W. Thomas.  
 Cav. Captain (A) J. H. Nichols.  
 " (A) C. Du Bignon.  
 " (A) A. R. Love.  
 " (B) Wm. H. Rich.  
 " (B) T. G. Wilkes.  
 " (B) B. B. McKenzie.

Cav. Captain (C) E. C. Hardin.  
 " (C) W. B. C. Puckett.  
 " (C) G. A. Roberts.  
 " (D) P. L. Y. Long.  
 " (D) H. Buchanan.  
 " (E) A. F. Hunter.  
 " (F) W. W. Thomas.  
 Inf. Captain (A) D. B. Sanford.  
 " (A) F. C. Fuller.  
 " (A) O. P. Daniel.  
 " (A) P. B. Robinson.  
 " (B) I. D. Dodd.  
 " (E) W. H. Barler.  
 " (E) J. M. McDonald.  
 " (F) P. McGovern.  
 Arty. H. N. Ells.

### *Smith's Georgia Legion of 375.*

Partisan Rangers.  
 Colonel Sumner J. Smith.  
 Lieutenant Colonel John R. Hart.  
 " " John S. Fain.  
 Major B. F. Brown.  
 " Robert H. Moore.  
 Adjutant B. F. Chastain.  
 " Jas. M. Gartrell.  
 Assistant Surgeon B. P. White.  
 " " John W. Farrell.  
 Assistant Quartermaster Jas. W. Langston.  
 " " C. M. Bale.  
 Captain (H) A. Rudolph.  
 " (C) W. F. Thomas.  
 " (H) Jas. Harlow.

Cav. Captain (G) John R. Hart.  
 " (G) A. F. Ball.  
 " (B) T. C. Fain.  
 " (C) L. M. Stiff.  
 " (D) S. M. Ralston.  
 " (E) L. Harlow.  
 " (E) J. T. Burns.  
 " (F) S. Anderson.  
 " (A) G. W. Standridge.  
 Inf. Captain (A) Jacob W. Piercey.  
 " (B) Sam'l. F. Williams.  
 " (C) A. H. Morris.  
 " (D) John H. Craven.  
 " (E) Ben. G. Grant.  
 " (F) Uln G. Foster.

### *Wright's Georgia Legion.*

Colonel Aug. R. Wright.  
 Lieutenant Colonel G. W. Lee.

Major Lewis J. Parr.

### *Thomas Legion—395.*

#### *1st Georgia Reserves.*

Colonel J. H. Fannin.  
 Captain (A) W. B. Wood.  
 " (B) G. A. Hall.  
 " (C) E. Baker.  
 " (D) J. C. Thornton.  
 " (E) J. H. Grant.

Captain (F) G. W. Austin.  
 " (G) W. H. Hartnett.  
 " (H) J. H. Powell.  
 " (I) J. Whately.  
 " (K) J. D. Watson.

#### *2nd Georgia Reserves.*

Colonel R. F. Maddox.  
 Captain (A) S. Chamberlain.  
 " (B) R. Adams.  
 " (C) E. Holcombe.  
 " (D) T. C. Jackson.  
 " (E) J. F. McCloskey.

Captain (F) M. Richardson.  
 " (G) E. M. Donahoe.  
 " (H) C. M. Jones.  
 " (H) N. Clay.  
 " (I) S. S. Fears.  
 " (K) J. R. Mehaffey.



*3rd Georgia Reserves.*

Colonel E. J. Harris.	Captain (D) T. P. Lloyd.
Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Moore.	" (E) N. Miller.
Major J. B. Griffin.	" (F) O. Cromwell.
Adjutant S. D. Martin.	" (G) S. D. Nutt.
Captain (A) J. A. McManus.	" (H) S. E. Glass.
" (B) C. D. Amos.	" (I) T. H. Hodgkiss.
" (C) W. F. Scott.	" (K) G. A. Cunningham.

*4th Georgia Reserves.*

Colonel R. S. Taylor.	Captain (D) R. T. Bowie.
Lieutenant Colonel A. D. Candler.	" (E) B. D. Johnson.
Major J. H. Bush.	" (F) A. C. Allen.
Adjutant W. T. Florence.	" (G) J. C. Jordon.
Captain (A) G. S. Peavy.	" (H) R. C. Saxon.
" (B) J. M. B. Carlton.	" (I) T. L. Anderson.
" (C) J. P. Hudson.	" (K) M. A. Adams.

*5th Georgia Reserves.*

Colonel J. B. Cumming.	Captain (D) W. Paine.
Lieutenant Colonel C. D. Findley.	" (E) W. A. Cobb.
Major C. E. McGregor.	" (F) J. C. Jarratt.
Adjutant O. T. Thweatt.	" (G) C. E. Clarke.
Captain (A) M. R. Freeman.	" (H) W. M. Gunn.
" (B) B. D. Lumsden.	" (I) W. P. Mobley.
" (C) B. Whiddon.	" (K) W. H. Lawson.

*Georgia State Guards.*

Colonel J. G. Yeiser.	Captain (E) M. L. Troutman.
Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Freeman.	" (F) J. Taliaferro.
Major T. W. Alexander.	" (G) H. F. Wimberly.
Captain (A) J. H. Lawrence.	" (H) S. A. Bordoers.
" (B) J. Trout.	" (I) D. B. Dean.
" (C) S. D. Wragg.	" (K) C. O. Stillwell.
" (D) A. A. Terhune.	

*1st Georgia Battalion Infantry.*

Lieutenant Colonel J. B. Villepigue.	Captain (D) J. R. Rhodes.
" " G. A. Smith.	" (E) W. H. Howard, Jr.
" " Chas. Spaulding.	" (F) J. P. Girardey.
Major W. S. Lovell.	" (G) W. S. Lovett.
Adjutant E. G. Jeffers.	" (H) J. F. Kerr.
Captain (A) J. W. Aderhold.	" (I) J. N. Edwards.
" (B) H. J. Sprayberry.	" (K) G. S. Ames.
" (C) G. A. Smith.	

*1st Georgia Battalion Infantry Sharp-Shooters No. 2.—323.*

Major Arthur Shaaf.	Captain (B) B. H. Hardee.
Captain (A) A. Shaaf.	" (C) Wm. H. Ross.
" (A) H. D. Twyman.	" (D) G. C. Dent.
" (B) A. L. Hartridge.	" (D) C. T. Berwick.



*2nd Georgia Battalion Infantry.*

Major Thos. Hardeman.  
 " Geo. W. Ross.  
 Assistant Quartermaster F. S. Gross.  
 A. C. S., C. S. Rogers.  
 Adjutant W. S. Robinson.  
 Surgeon A. V. Taliaferro.  
 Captain (A) C. J. Moffit.

Captain (A) W. F. I. Ross.  
 " (B) John F. Dupree, Dd.  
 " (B) W. F. Walker.  
 " (C) Geo. W. Ross.  
 " (C) C. R. Redding.  
 " (D) Geo. S. Jones.

*2nd Georgia Battalion Infantry Sharp-Shooters No. 2.*

Major J. J. Cox.  
 " R. H. Whiteley.  
 Assistant Quartermaster Thos. B. Gower.  
 Captain (A) R. H. Whiteley.  
 " (A) C. H. George.

Captain (B) Wm. H. Brown.  
 " (C) E. W. Ansley.  
 " (C) M. G. Hester.  
 " (D) Sam'l. D. Oliver.  
 " (E) O. C. Myers.

*3rd Georgia Battalion Infantry.*

Lieutenant Colonel J. B. Stovall.  
 Major A. F. Rudler.  
 Adjutant C. P. Roberts.  
 Assistant Quartermaster B. T. Jones.  
 " " J. A. Anderson.  
 " " R. Orme.  
 " " H. P. Richmond.  
 Captain (A) Jas. D. Yeiser.

Captain (B) Robert E. Meson.  
 " (C) M. Kendrick.  
 " (D) Geo. M. McDowell.  
 " (E) Andrew J. White.  
 " (F) J. J. Bradford.  
 " (G) A. F. Rudler.  
 " (G) T. D. Caswell.  
 " (H) W. H. H. Phelps.

*3rd Georgia Battalion Infantry Sharp-Shooters No. 2—320.*

Lieutenant Colonel N. L. Hutchins.  
 Major H. H. Smith.  
 Captain (A) Wm. M. Crumley.  
 " (B) Garnet McMillan.  
 " (B) John W. King.  
 " (B) F. E. Ross.  
 " (C) W. E. Simmons.

Captain (C) W. D. Anderson.  
 " (C) N. N. Gober.  
 " (E) John F. Martin.  
 Adjutant R. J. Davants.  
 " J. H. Williams.  
 " P. E. Savans.  
 Assistant Quartermaster J. P. Phillips.

*4th Battalion Georgia Infantry.*

Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Stiles.  
 Major Thos. J. Berry.  
 Assistant Quartermaster D. N. Speer.

A. C. S., R. H. Cannon.  
 Surgeon E. N. Calhoun.  
 Captain (H) M. A. Leake.

*4th Georgia Battalion Infantry Sharp-Shooters No. 2.*

Ensign A. W. Collins.  
 Captain (A) S. M. Jackson.

Captain (B) W. M. Carter.  
 " (C) B. M. Turner.

*5th Battalion Georgia Infantry.*

Major G. M. Gunnels.  
 Captain (A) W. G. Rice.  
 " (B) John G. Williams.

Captain (C) Jas. J. Shumate.  
 " (A) G. M. Gunnels.

*6th Georgia Battalion Infantry. No Rolls.**7th Battalion Georgia Infantry. (Consolidated with 61st Georgia.)*

Lieutenant Colonel C. A. L. Lamar.  
 " " John H. Lamar.

Major John H. Lamar.





*8th Georgia Battalion Infantry—390.*

Lieutenant Colonel J. T. Reid.	Captain (C) Wm. Holsonback.
" " A. Littlefield.	" (D) Z. L. Walters.
" " Z. L. Walters.	" (D) J. A. Hardin.
Major B. F. Hunt.	" (E) John A. Hopper.
Assistant Quartermaster H. S. Crawford.	" (E) John A. Penn.
Adjutant J. W. Gray.	" (F) L. N. Jackson, Cashd.
Captain (A) H. M. Lumpkin.	" (F) J. W. Boaz.
" (B) M. Y. Sexton, Cashd.	" (G) T. J. Paxton.

*10th Georgia Battalion Infantry—478.*

Major John E. Rylander, Kd.	Captain (B) Dan Henderson.
" J. D. Frederic.	" (C) B. F. Bell.
Ensign Wm. C. Tinsley.	" (D) Wm. L. Jones.
Assistant Quartermaster J. W. Whitehead.	" (E) John L. Adderton.
Captain (A) Jas. D. Frederick.	

*11th Georgia Battalion Infantry—693.*

Lieutenant Colonel G. W. M. Williams.	Captain (E) A. C. Edwards.
Captain (A) Wm. S. Phillips.	" (F) John D. Ashton.
" (B) Pat. Gormley.	" (G) Isaac M. Aikin.
" (C) Jas. H. Latimer.	" (H) Wm. W. Williams.
" (D) Phillip G. Tippins.	" (I) M. J. Doyle.

*12th Georgia Battalion Infantry—543.*

Lieutenant Colonel H. D. Capers.	Captain (D) Geo. W. Johnson.
Major H. D. Capers.	" (C) Sam'l. H. Crump.
" Sam'l. H. Crump.	" (C) J. H. Taliaferro.
" G. M. Hanvey.	" (I) J. V. H. Allen.
Assistant Quartermaster Ker Boyce.	" (D) Geo. M. Hanvey.
Adjutant F. W. Baker, Kd.	" (D) J. W. Anderson.
" E. F. Clayton.	" (F) Geo. M. Hood.
Captain (B) J. W. Rudisill.	" (E) J. J. Newsome.

*13th Georgia Battalion Infantry.*

Major Geo. A. Gordon.	Captain (A) Geo. R. Black.
Adjutant L. T. Mallory.	" (B) Jno. R. Giles.
A. C. S., W. J. Neville.	" (C) Jas. T. Buckner.
Surgeon J. B. Read.	

*17th Georgia Battalion Infantry—469.*

Major Joseph T. Smith.	Captain (C) D. C. Young.
Assistant Quartermaster T. C. Burch.	" (D) Geo. Eberhart.
Captain (A) J. G. McMullin.	" (E) S. G. Pettis.
" (B) D. L. Gholson.	

*18th Georgia Battalion Infantry.*

Major John Screven.	Captain (A) W. S. Basinger.
" W. S. Basinger.	" (A) Thomas T. Screven.
Assistant Quartermaster R. H. Footman.	" (B) G. W. Stiles.
Adjutant E. P. Stair.	" (C) G. C. Rice.



*25th Battalion Georgia Infantry.*

Lieutenant Colonel G. W. Lee.

*Georgia State Guards, Stephens' Battalion.*

Captain (E) H. D. Burnan.  
 " (E) Linton Stephens.  
 " (F) Wm. H. Sworn.

Captain (F) J. A. Shivers.  
 " (G) R. Walden.

*1st Battalion Georgia Reserves.*

Major W. R. Symons.  
 Captain (A) J. M. Dye.  
 " (A) W. H. C. Mills.  
 " (B) J. Cunningham.  
 " (C) Wm. M. Davidson.

Captain (D) J. B. Hussey.  
 " (E) A. Morrison.  
 " (F) B. Millican.  
 " (G) R. A. Peebles.  
 " (H) W. C. Allen.

*1st Battalion Georgia Reserves—2. Augusta Fire Brigade.*

Lieutenant Colonel C. A. Platt.  
 Major C. B. Day.  
 Captain (A) C. W. Hersey.  
 " (B) J. D. Butt.

Captain (C) C. B. Day.  
 " (D) J. Henry.  
 " (E) J. C. Moore.  
 " (F) J. W. Adams.

*Atlanta Fire Battalion.*

Lieutenant Colonel G. W. Lee.  
 Major J. H. Mecaslin.  
 Captain (A) J. Shadelman.  
 " (B) L. Richardson.  
 " (C) J. A. Taylor.

Captain (D) J. T. Banks.  
 " (E) P. Brown.  
 " (F) T. P. Fleming.  
 " (G) S. B. Love.  
 " (H) S. P. Bassett.

*9th Battalion Georgia Light Guards, Macon Ordnance Guards Battalion.*

Colonel Patrick Mell.  
 Major H. T. Price.  
 Captain (A) C. W. Bond.  
 " (B) C. Dodd.

Captain (C) A. De Laperrier.  
 " (D) R. C. Saxon.  
 " (E) R. H. Cannon.

*Provost Battalion Georgia Volunteers.*

Captain (A) M. D. Lee.  
 " (A) Wm. McConnell.  
 " (B) T. J. Echols.  
 " (C) J. W. Longino.

Captain (D) E. Holmes.  
 " (E) J. C. Hendrix.  
 " (F) L. L. Strozer.  
 " (G) R. P. Eberhart.

*9th Battalion Georgia Volunteers.*

Major J. T. Smith.  
 Captain (A) J. G. McMullin.  
 " (B) D. L. Gholston.

Captain (C) D. C. Young.  
 " (D) G. Eberhart.  
 " (E) S. G. Pettus.

*Miscellaneous Georgia Infantry.*

Captain A. C. Davenport.  
 " John B. Hussey.  
 " W. H. Banks.

Captain E. R. Whitley.  
 " A. Boward  
 " C. S. Jenkins.



Captain P. Robinson.  
 " S. M. Ralston.  
 " D. Crum.  
 " D. C. Smith.  
 " F. T. Cullens.  
 " J. R. Hart.  
 " Wm. A. Carswell.  
 " G. Lumpkin.  
 " J. F. Cooper.  
 " W. S. Du Bose.

Captain J. T. McClusky.  
 " N. J. Macarthy.  
 " W. S. Goodwin.  
 " E. Richards.  
 " C. H. Way.  
 " W. A. Adams.  
 " T. A. Skelton.  
 " J. R. Cumming.  
 " J. Hill, Jr.  
 " W. C. Thornton.

## CAVALRY.

### *1st Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel J. J. Morrison.  
 " S. W. Davitt.  
 Lieutenant Colonel A. R. Harper.  
 Major S. W. Davitt.  
 Adjutant John N. Perkins.  
 Captain (A) W. M. Hutchings.  
 " (B) J. H. Strickland.  
 " (C) M. H. Haynie.

Captain (D) R. Trammell.  
 " (E) I. M. Blalock. ✓  
 " (F) V. J. Reynolds.  
 " (G) J. L. Kerr.  
 " (H) Wm. M. Tumlin.  
 " (I) I. F. Leak.  
 " (K) H. A. North.

### *2nd Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel W. J. Lawton.  
 " Arthur Hood.  
 " C. C. Crews.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Hood.  
 " " J. E. Dunlop.  
 " " F. M. Ison.  
 Major C. A. Whaley.  
 Adjutant R. F. Lawton.  
 Captain (A) G. C. Looney.

Captain (B) W. J. Lawton.  
 " (C) Charles C. Crews.  
 " (D) O. Winningham.  
 " (E) F. M. Ison.  
 " (F) Thos. H. Jordan.  
 " (G) W. D. Grant.  
 " (H) W. H. Chapman.  
 " (I) Jas. W. Mayo.  
 " (K) J. C. Dunlop.

### *3rd Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel Martin J. Crawford.  
 " R. E. Kennon.  
 " W. R. Thompson.  
 Lieutenant Colonel R. E. Kennon.  
 Major H. H. Johnston.  
 Adjutant I. P. L. Mular.  
 Captain (A) W. R. Thompson.  
 " (B) Beverly A. Thornton.  
 " (B) W. J. Underwood.

Captain (C) J. H. Persons.  
 " (D) R. E. Kennon.  
 " (E) J. T. Thornton.  
 " (F) Jas. A. Fowler.  
 " (I) D. H. Collins.  
 " (H) D. F. Booten.  
 " (K) A. R. Hughes.  
 " (I) John W. Hurt.

### *4th Georgia Cavalry Regiment (1st)—1015.*

Colonel Isaac W. Avery.  
 Lieutenant Colonel W. L. Cook.  
 Major D. J. Owen.  
 " J. R. Stewart.  
 Adjutant B. H. Newton.  
 Assistant Quartermaster Wm. K. Moore.  
 Adjutant J. W. Rainsay.

A. C. S., Jos. M. Stones.  
 Captain (A) R. A. Keith, Kd.  
 First Lieutenant (A) G. D. Hancock.  
 Second Lieutenant (A) G. A. Sloan.  
 " (A) J. Hill.  
 Captain (B) G. B. May.  
 First Lieutenant (B) T. S. May.



Second Lieutenant (B) J. C. McIntyre.  
 " " (B) J. W. Ramsay.  
 " " (B) Dave May, Kd.  
 Captain (C) Jeff Johnson.  
 First Lieutenant (C) H. C. Erwin.  
 Second Lieutenant (C) D. A. Holland.  
 " " (C) A. R. Bates.  
 Captain (D) Wm. J. Rogers.  
 First Lieutenant (D) J. C. Hartman.  
 Second Lieutenant (D) J. M. Boydston.  
 " " (D) J. Readdick.  
 Captain (E) W. L. Cook.  
 " (E) Clin Wellborn.  
 " (E) B. C. Woddail.  
 First Lieutenant (E) J. Johnson.  
 Second Lieutenant (E) J. J. Jones.  
 " " (E) A. H. Jones.  
 Captain (F) C. D. McCutchen.  
 " (F) Jos. E. Helvingstone, Kd.  
 " (F) F. G. Horn.  
 Lieutenant (F) F. G. Horn.  
 " (F) J. E. Helvingstone.  
 " (F) J. D. Allen.  
 " (F) J. W. O'Neal.  
 " (F) J. R. Sloan.  
 Captain (G) Wm. R. Logan.

Captain (G) R. E. Kingsley.  
 First Lieutenant (G) R. E. Creekmore.  
 Second Lieutenant (G) H. J. Dean.  
 " " (G) W. M. C. Parkinson.  
 Captain (H) G. H. Graham.  
 First Lieutenant (H) J. T. Freeman.  
 " " (H) Wm. T. Arnold.  
 " " (H) W. M. Martin.  
 Captain (I) I. W. Avery.  
 " (I) D. J. Owen.  
 " (I) H. H. Burke.  
 First Lieutenant (I) D. J. Owen.  
 " " (I) H. H. Burke.  
 Second Lieutenant (I) J. Shehan.  
 " " (I) A. C. Guntz.  
 " " (I) G. W. Mitchell.  
 " " (I) R. Sutherland.  
 Captain (K) J. R. Stewart.  
 First Lieutenant (K) P. W. Stewart.  
 Second Lieutenant (K) W. O. Cain.  
 " " (K) F. A. Eubanks.  
 Captain (L) L. B. Anderson.  
 First Lieutenant (L) J. C. N. Foote.  
 Second Lieutenant (L) W. B. Chappell.  
 " " (L) W. A. Nolan.  
 Captain (M) John D. Ashton.

*4th Georgia Cavalry Regiment (2nd)—867.*

Colonel Duncan L. Clinch.  
 Lieutenant Colonel John L. Harris.  
 Major J. C. McDonald  
 Captain (A) J. S. Wiggins.  
 " (B) W. M. Hazzard.  
 " (C) N. A. Brown.  
 " (D) Jno. Raddick.

Captain (E) R. N. King.  
 " (F) J. P. Turner.  
 " (G) A. McMillan.  
 " (H) T. S. Wylley.  
 " (I) J. C. Nichols.  
 " (K) D. Crum.

*5th Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel Robert H. Anderson.  
 Lieutenant Colonel Ed Bird.  
 Major R. J. Davant.  
 A. C. S., G. S. Barthelmess.  
 Assistant Quartermaster T. B. Gowan.  
 Captain (A) O. C. Hopkins.  
 " (B) W. A. Wiltberger.

Captain (C) R. F. Aikin.  
 " (D) J. M. Marsh.  
 " (E) M. N. Call.  
 " (G) G. B. Beste.  
 " (H) W. L. Walthour.  
 " (I) W. Brailsford.  
 " (K) H. I. Strother.

*6th Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel John R. Hart.  
 Lieutenant Colonel B. F. Brown.  
 " " J. C. Fain.

Major J. C. Fain.  
 Assistant Quartermaster T. W. Fulton.  
 Adjutant B. F. Chastain.

*7th Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel W. P. White, Dd.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. L. McAllister, Kd.  
 Major E. C. Anderson.  
 " John T. Davis.

Captain (A) W. D. Russell.  
 " (A) E. W. Moise.  
 " (B) A. R. Miller.  
 " (B) L. J. Smith.





Captain (C) J. N. Davis.  
 " (C) F. E. Burke.  
 " (C) W. E. Cropp.  
 " (C) E. C. Anderson.  
 " (D) R. H. Wylley.  
 " (D) J. H. Sykes.  
 " (D) P. A. L. Morris.  
 " (E) H. K. Harrison.  
 " (E) F. Beasley.  
 " (F) R. F. Jones.  
 " (F) J. R. Johnson.

Captain (F) C. C. Bowen.  
 " (G) F. W. Hopkins.  
 " (G) T. S. Hopkins.  
 " (H) J. Hines.  
 " (H) J. L. McAllister.  
 " (I) J. W. Brumby.  
 " (I) F. G. Pitt.  
 " (K) L. S. Quarterman.  
 " (K) L. W. Phillips.  
 " (K) I. S. McAllister.

### *8th Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel R. J. Griffin.  
 Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Millen.  
 Major J. M. Millen.  
 " W. G. Thomas.  
 " S. B. Spencer.  
 Adjutant T. G. Pond.

" M. E. Williams.  
 Captain (A) J. P. Davis.  
 " (A) T. S. Paine.  
 " (A) H. L. Norfleet.  
 " (A) R. Towns.  
 " (B) B. B. Bower.  
 " (B) B. L. Screven.  
 " (B) W. G. Thompson.  
 " (B) J. N. Nichols.  
 " (C) W. L. A. Ellis.  
 " (C) J. G. Smith.  
 " (D) T. R. Duval.  
 " (D) M. J. Smith.

Captain (D) S. B. Spencer.  
 " (D) W. H. Farrertt.  
 " (E) W. H. Thompson.  
 " (E) J. G. Cress.  
 " (E) J. M. Turpin.  
 " (E) W. J. Deas.  
 " (F) S. B. Jones.  
 " (F) M. E. Williams.  
 " (G) P. Gray.  
 " (G) J. R. Harper.  
 " (H) T. A. James.  
 " (I) A. J. Love.  
 " (I) J. B. Edgerton.  
 " (I) J. A. Richardson.  
 " (I) W. A. Lane.  
 " (I) J. T. Kennedy.  
 " (K) S. L. Turner.  
 " (K) E. W. Westbrook.  
 " (L) T. G. Barham.

### *9th Georgia Regiment Cavalry.*

Colonel G. I. Wright.  
 Lieutenant Colonel B. S. King.  
 Major M. D. Jones.  
 Adjutant Jas. Y. Harris.

Captain (A) T. B. Archer.  
 " (A) Z. A. Rice.  
 " (A) T. P. Stovall.  
 " (A) B. C. Ring.  
 " (A) O. H. P. Juhan.  
 " (A) J. J. Thomas.  
 " (A) B. C. Yancey.  
 " (A) C. H. Sanders.  
 " (A) W. L. Conyers.  
 " (B) M. D. Jones.  
 " (B) L. J. Glenn.  
 " (B) Wm. W. McDaniels.  
 " (C) W. G. Deloney.  
 " (C) T. C. Williams.  
 " (D) G. I. Wright.  
 " (D) C. H. Camfield.

Captain (D) W. J. Lawton.  
 " (D) J. F. Wilson.  
 " (D) W. A. Winn.  
 " (E) W. C. Dial.  
 " (E) B. S. King.  
 " (E) T. B. Cox.  
 " (E) W. S. C. Morris.  
 " (F) W. D. Jones.  
 " (F) Wm. T. S. Powell.  
 " (F) G. W. Moore.  
 " (G) Wm. M. Williams.  
 " (G) J. C. Barnett.  
 " (G) G. B. Knight.  
 " (H) J. E. Ritch.  
 " (H) W. A. Cain.  
 " (I) W. B. Young.  
 " (I) Wm. Duke.  
 " (K) F. E. Eve.  
 " (K) J. J. Floyd.  
 " (L) A. M. Rogers.

### *10th Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel V. H. Taliaferro.  
 Lieutenant Colonel F. D. Claiborne.  
 Major Jesse H. Sikes.

Captain (A) E. W. Moise.  
 Lieutenant (A) J. Cox.  
 " (A) Wm. E. Crapp, Kd.



Lieutenant (A) J. E. Moses.  
 Captain (B) L. J. Smith.  
 Lieutenant (B) J. M. Buyers.  
 " (B) G. W. Austin.  
 " (B) S. T. Kingsberry.  
 Captain (C) J. H. Sikes.  
 Lieutenant (C) P. A. S. Morris.  
 " (C) I. W. Ware.  
 Captain (D) F. E. Burke.  
 Lieutenant (D) J. N. Carter.  
 " (D) P. E. Baker.  
 Captain (E) F. A. Beasley.

Lieutenant (E) T. C. McLendon.  
 " (E) Jas. Cody.  
 " (E) C. D. Rainwater.  
 Captain (K) F. G. Pitt.  
 Lieutenant (K) Y. B. Sharpe.  
 " (K) B. P. Jenkins.  
 " (K) M. B. Pitt.  
 Captain (L) J. B. Bonner.  
 " (L) S. T. Kingsberry.  
 Lieutenant (L) T. C. Sharpe.  
 " (L) H. I. Smith.  
 " (L) H. I. Boon.

### *11th Georgia Cavalry Regiment.*

Colonel A. Young.  
 Lieutenant Colonel H. W. Barday.  
 Major Madison Bell.  
 Captain (A) M. Bell.  
 " (B) E. P. Bedell.  
 " (C) J. Reid.  
 " (D) D. M. West.

Captain (D) J. M. Crawford.  
 " (E) J. Kelly.  
 " (F) W. C. Price.  
 " (G) D. M. West.  
 " (H) W. S. Erwin.  
 " (I) J. N. Dorsey.  
 " (K) N. T. Taber.

### *2nd Georgia Regiment of Partisan Rangers.*

Colonel A. A. Hunt.

#### *1st Battalion Georgia Cavalry.*

Major Robert H. Anderson.  
 Adjutant R. Wayne.  
 " Robert Grant.  
 Assistant Quartermaster R. H. Footman.

Captain O. C. Hopkins.  
 " Wm. Hughes, Jr.  
 " Abial Winn.

#### *1st Battalion Georgia Cavalry No. 2.*

Captain (1) O. G. Cameron.  
 " (2) John Shawhan.  
 " (3) Jas. M. Thomas.  
 " (4) Ezekiel F. Clay.

Captain (5) John B. Holliday.  
 " (6) R. G. Stoner.  
 " (7) P. M. Millen.

#### *2nd Battalion Georgia Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Colonel Edward Bird.  
 Major R. J. Davant.  
 Captain (A) H. J. Strobhar.  
 " (B) N. U. McCall.

Captain (C) G. B. Best.  
 " (D) W. H. Wiltberger.  
 " (E) J. M. Marsh.  
 " (F) R. F. Aikin.

#### *3rd Battalion Georgia Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Colonel Duncan L. Clinch.  
 Major John L. Harris.  
 Assistant Quartermaster H. R. Fort.  
 Captain (A) A. C. Strickland.  
 " (B) I. C. McDonald.

Captain (C) I. S. Wiggins.  
 " (D) W. M. Hazzard.  
 " (E) N. A. Brown.  
 " (F) John Readdick.

#### *9th Battalion Georgia Cavalry.*

Major Wm. Phillips.  
 Captain (A) R. W. Hamrick.  
 " (B) G. D. Rice.

Captain (C) W. A. Austen.  
 " (D) J. Loveless.  
 " (F) T. R. Sheats.



*10th Cavalry Georgia Battalion.*

Captain (A) M. A. Candler.	Captain (E) A. R. Williams.
" (B) A. C. Sloan.	" (F) E. S. Ferguson.
" (C) G. T. Rakestraw.	" (G) W. S. R. Hardman.
" (D) B. M. Long.	

*15th Battalion Georgia Cavalry (Partisan Rangers).*

Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Griffin.	Assistant Quartermaster R. P. Howell.
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*16th Battalion Georgia Cavalry (Partisan Rangers).*

Lieutenant Colonel F. M. Nix.	Captain (D) David A. Camp.
" " Sam'l J. Winn.	" (E) Wm. L. Merler.
Major S. J. Winn.	" (F) John D. Simms.
" E. Y. Clarke.	" (G) F. J. Whitehead.
Adjutant E. Y. Clarke.	" (B) Wm. B. Bailey.
" Thos. E. Winn.	" (H) J. F. Ray.
Captain (A) T. F. Jones.	" (I) J. A. Strange.
" (C) A. J. Walters.	" (K) W. S. Thomas.

*19th Georgia Battalion Cavalry.*

Major Charles T. Goode.	Captain (B) James L. Leath.
Assistant Quartermaster Jas. Goode.	" (C) W. I. Vason.
Captain (A) Thaddeus G. Holt.	" (D) G. R. Coley.

*20th Georgia Battalion Cavalry (Partisan Rangers)—293.*

Lieutenant Colonel John M. Millen.	Captain (C) J. G. Cress.
Major S. B. Spencer.	" (D) Wm. A. Lane.
Adjutant M. E. Williams	" (E) A. J. Love.
Assistant Quartermaster L. S. Varnedoe.	" (E) Thos. S. Paine.
Captain (A) Sam'l B. Spencer.	" (F) J. B. Peacock.
" (A) Moses J. Smith.	" (F) M. E. Williams.
" (B) W. G. Thompson.	

*21st Battalion Georgia Cavalry (Partisan Rangers).*

Major Wm. P. White.	Captain (B) C. C. Bowen.
Adjutant B. Green	" (C) R. L. Miller.
Assistant Quartermaster Wm. L. Platt.	" (D) W. H. Banks, Cashd.
" " Wm. F. Laws.	" (D) H. K. Harrison.
Captain (A) W. D. Russell.	" (E) R. F. Jones.
" (B) Jerry R. Johnson.	

*23rd Battalion Georgia Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Colonel Isaac W. Avery.	Captain (A) W. L. Cook.
Adjutant B. H. Newton.	" (B) Jeff Johnson.
Assistant Quartermaster Wm. K. Moore.	" (C) G. B. May.
A. C. S., Joseph Stones.	" (D) C. D. McCutchen.
Captain (A) I. W. Avery.	" (E) D. J. Owen.

*24th Georgia Battalion Cavalry.*

Major Edward C. Anderson, Jr.	Captain (B) John N. Davis.
Adjutant A. J. Setze.	" (C) R. H. Wyley.
Assistant Quartermaster B. C. Henry.	" (C) John W. Brumby.
Captain (A) T. S. Hopkins	





*29th Georgia Battalion Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Colonel A. Hood.	Captain (F) F. L. Pipher.
Captain (A) A. W. Hunter.	" (G) S. C. Hall.
" (B) J. T. Wimberly.	" (H) R. W. Wade.
" (C) F. J. Browning.	" (I) J. C. Lasseter.
" (E) L. Little.	

*30th Battalion Georgia Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Colonel A. Young.	Captain (E) J. Kelly.
Captain (A) M. Bell.	" (F) W. C. Price.
" (B) E. P. Bedell.	" (H) W. S. Erwin.
" (C) J. Beid.	" (I) J. N. Dorsey.
" (D) D. M. West.	" (K) N. T. Taber.
" (D) J. M. Crawford.	

*Stephens' Battalion Georgia Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Colonel Linton Stephens.	Captain (B) T. E. Brown.
Major J. A. Shivers.	" (C) S. G. White.
Adjutant W. H. Lawson.	" (D) J. F. Geev.
Captain (A) J. Raley.	

*Culberson's Battalion State Guard Cavalry.*

Colonel A. B. Culberson.	Captain (C) J. M. Easterling.
Captain (A) T. A. Sharpe.	" (D) Wm. Mahan.
" (B) J. B. Rogers.	" (F) J. Jones.

*Stephens' Cavalry Battalion.*

Major John T. Stephens.	Captain (C) J. R. Banks.
Captain (A) B. G. Lockett.	" (D) C. E. Redding.
" (B) J. W. Ellis.	

*Miscellaneous Georgia Cavalry.*

Captain H. A. Gartrell.	Captain L. W. Humphreys.
" J. F. Waring.	" T. J. Watts.
" T. J. Key.	" J. S. Pemberton.
" W. C. Humphreys.	

*General S. D. Lee's Escort.*

Captain T. M. Nelson, Kd.	Captain Gill Ragland.
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*Georgia Mountain Dragoons.*

Captain Isaac W. Avery.



## ARTILLERY.

*9th Battalion Georgia Artillery.*

Major A. Leyden.	Captain (B) H. P. Randall.
Adjutant G. A. Lofton.	" (C) George W. Atkinson.
Assistant Quartermaster J. W. Brown.	" (C) A. M. Wolihin.
Surgeon N. A. D'Alvigny.	" (C) B. W. York.
Captain (A) Elias Holcombe.	" (D) T. M. Peeples.
" (B) Wm. W. Sentell.	" (E) B. F. Wyly.

*11th Battery Georgia Artillery.*

Lieutenant Colonel Allen S. Cutts.	Captain (B) G. M. Patterson.
Major A. S. Cutts.	" (C) C. C. P. Crawford.
" John Lane.	" (C) J. Lane.
Assistant Quartermaster Thos. H. Johnston.	" (D) Jas. A. Blackshear.
Captain (A) A. S. Cutts.	" (E) John T. Wingfield.
" (A) H. M. Ross.	

*12th Georgia Battery Artillery.*

Lieutenant Colonel H. D. Capers.	Captain (A) G. M. Hanvey.
Major H. D. Capers.	" (B) J. W. Rudisill.
" S. H. Crump.	" (B) S. H. Crump.
" G. M. Hanvey.	" (C) G. W. Johnson.
Adjutant F. W. Baker, Kd.	" (D) J. N. Taliaferro.
" E. F. Clayton.	" (E) J. J. Newsome.
Assistant Quartermaster Ker Boyce	" (F) G. M. Hood.
Captain (A) J. W. Anderson.	

*14th Georgia Battery Artillery.*

Lieutenant Colonel J. T. Montgomery.	Captain (C) C. B. Ferrell.
Major Joseph Palmer.	" (D) E. R. King.
Adjutant J. H. Cox.	" (E) Franklin Roberts.
A. C. S., C. T. Swift.	" (H) Jas. G. Gibson.
Captain (A) J. Palmer.	" (F) S. A. Moses.
" (B) Thos. H. Dawson.	

*22nd Georgia Battery Siege Artillery—666*

Lieutenant Colonel Wm. R. Pritchard.	Captain (B) D. A. Smith.
Major John B. Gallie, Kd.	" (C) John Lama.
" M. J. McMullan.	" (C) J. A. Beads.
" D. T. Bertody.	" (C) J. B. Gallie.
Adjutant J. J. Symons.	" (D) Richard J. Nunn.
" H. Symons.	" (D) J. Manning.
Assistant Quartermaster H. R. Washburn.	" (E) C. Hussey.
" " E. J. Dawson.	" (E) L. J. Guilmartin.
Captain (A) T. D. Bertody.	" (F) A. Bonaud.
" (A) J. M. Cambell.	" (F) Geo. A. Nichols.
" (A) G. R. Niles.	" (G) F. T. Cullens.
" (B) M. J. McMullan	" (H) R. A. Turnipseed.

*28th Georgia Battery Artillery.*

Major A. Bonaud.	Captain (E) M. T. McGregor.
Captain (A) J. A. Cotten.	" (F) J. R. Blount.
" (B) L. B. Fickling.	" (G) J. D. Godwin.
" (C) C. P. Crawford.	" (H) T. J. Key.
" (D) J. Wilcher.	" (I) R. F. Bishop.



*Cherokee Light Artillery.*

Captain M. V. D. Corput.

| Captain John G. Yeiser.

*White's Artillery.*

Captain B. F. White.

*Terrell Light Artillery.*

Captain E. G. Dawson.

| Captain John W. Brooks.

*Columbus Light Artillery.*

Captain E. Croft.

*Campbell Siege Artillery.*

Captain C. G. Campbell.

*Chestatee Artillery.*

Captain T. H. Bomar.

*Martin's Light Artillery.*

Captain R. Martin.

*Jackson Artillery.*

Captain G. A. Dure.

*Daniell's Light Artillery.*

Captain C. Daniells.

*Jo. Thompson Artillery.*

Captain C. R. Hanleiter.

| Captain L. J. Parr.

*Pritchard's Artillery.*

Captain E. E. Pritchard.

*Maxwell Artillery.*

Captain J. A. Maxwell.

*Macon Light Artillery.*

Captain C. W. Slaton.

| Captain H. N. Ellis.

*Seogin's Light Artillery.*

Captain J. Seogin.

| Captain O. C. Gibson,

*Oglethorpe Siege Artillery.*

Captain (A) J. Lama.

| Captain (B) G. F. Oliver.

" (B) Richard J. Nunn.



*Clinch's Artillery.*

Captain N. B. Clinch.

*Mercer Artillery.*

Captain A. J. Macarthy.

*Echols Light Artillery.*

Captain J. H. Tiller.

*Barnwell's Light Artillery.*

Captain A. Smith Barnwell.

*Bartow Artillery.*

Captain T. D. Bertody. | Captain A. C. Dunn.

*Massenburg Battery.*

Captain T. L. Massenburg. | Captain G. H. Dure.

*Palmer's Artillery.*

Captain M. W. Harris. | Captain J. H. Yates.  
" R. W. Anderson.

*Nelson's Artillery.*

Captain J. Milledge.

*Chatham Artillery.*

Captain J. F. Wheaton. | Captain J. S. Claghorn.

*Girardey's Battery.*

Capt. J. P. Girardey.

*Howell's Battery.*

Captain Evan P. Howell.

*Miscellaneous Artillery Roll.*

Captain F. T. Collins.	Captain J. W. Brown.
" M. Kendrick.	" J. P. Girardey.
" J. H. Baker.	" H. H. Carlton.
" S. P. Hamilton.	" E. Croft.
" J. K. Booton.	" E. P. Lumpkin.
" J. Talley.	" A. J. White.
" J. C. Fraser.	" C. C. Campbell.
" J. P. W. Read.	" J. S. Cleghorn.
" J. D. Hawkins.	" E. E. Pritchard.
" G. T. Barnes.	" Wm. W. Sentell.
" C. Sweet.	" J. T. Culpeper.
" F. Blodgett, Jr.	" C. Daniells.

*Independent Echols Artillery.*

Captain John H. Tiller.





## SUPPLEMENT TO APPENDIX "A."

## ADDITIONAL NAMES AND FACTS.

Major General Jeremy F. Gilmer.	Captain Co. (K) F. T. Callens.
" " Samuel G. French.	" " (M) P. Hamilton.
Brigadier General Paul J. Quattlebaum.	Adjutant 10th Ga. Inf. Leroy Napier.
" " Robert H. Chilton, Dd.	Capt (A) " " " Richard Hawes.
" " C. C. Crews.	" (B) " " " John B. Weems.
Colonel Sewall L. Fremont.	" (E) " " " G. G. Crawford.
Lt. Col. 1st Ga. Regulars H. D. D. Twiggs.	" (F) " " " John Stovall.
Adjutant " " Robert H. Atkinson.	" (H) " " " Wm. Ashburn.
Major " " E. W. Hazard.	" (I) " " " Wm. P. Redwine.
Captain Co. (F) S. R. Lawrence,	" (G) " " " O. Horne.
" " (G) M. M. Potter.	" (D) " " " Thos. D'Antignac.
" " (H) D. S. Kennedy.	" (D) " " " A. D'Antignac.
" " (I) T. M. McGregor.	" (D) " " " Thos. Adams.
" " (K) T. J. Abbott.	Adj. 6th Ga. Infantry, B. Russell.
" " (G) J. C. Fain.	" " " " Robert S. Connell.

## CHANGES OF ORGANIZATION.

3rd Bat. Ga. Inf. consolidated in 37th Ga. Inf. Reg.	21st Bat. Ga. Partisan Rangers and 24th Bat. made 7th Ga. Cav. Reg.
4th Bat. Ga. Inf. consolidated in 60th Ga. Inf. Reg.	67th Ga. Inf. Reg. reported with—Lester, Col. But no rolls.
7th Bat. Ga. Inf. consolidated in 61st Ga. Inf. Reg.	16th Confederate Cavalry made up of 19th Ga. Bat. Partisan Rangers and 5 Alabama companies. Col. C. T. Goode, Lt. Col. T. G. Holt. Major W. J. Vason, Adjutant Joe Bass
30th Ga. Bat. Cav. and 4 companies made 11th Ga. Cav. Reg.	Staff of Gen. A. H. Colquitt. Captains Geo. G. Grattam and Jemy Jackson, A. A. G. Lts Jas. Randall and H. H. Colquitt, A. D. C. Major R. N. Ely, A. Q. M. J. B. Morgan, A. C. S. Lt. H. Estill, Ordnance.
7 companies from 7th Confederate Cav. and 3 companies from 20th Ga. Bat. Cav. made 10th Ga. Cav. Reg.	Lt. Col. E. Y. Clarke of 16th Ga. Bat. Partisan Rangers holds commission stating his promotion for gallantry on the field.
10 companies Cobb's Ga. Legion made 9th Ga. Cav. Reg.	
7 companies 62nd Ga. Regt. and 3 companies of 20th Ga. Bat. Cav. made 8th Ga. Cav. Reg.	
15th Bat. Ga. Partisan Rangers merged in 62nd Ga. Reg.	



## APPENDIX B.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JEFFERSON DAVIS, PRESIDENT OF THE  
CONFEDERACY, AND JOSEPH E. BROWN, GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA, ON  
CONSCRIPTION.

## LETTER OF MR. DAVIS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }  
RICHMOND, May 29th, 1862. }

*Dear Sir:*—I received your letter of the 8th inst., in due course, but the importance of the subject embraced in it required careful consideration; and this, together with other pressing duties, has caused delay in my reply.

The constitutional question discussed by you in relation to the Conscription Law had been duly weighed before I recommended to Congress the passage of such a law; it was fully debated in both houses; and your letter has not only been submitted to my Cabinet, but a written opinion has been required from the Attorney-General. The constitutionality of the law was sustained by very large majorities in both houses. This decision of the Congress meets the concurrence, not only of my own judgment, but of every member of the Cabinet; and a copy of the opinion of the Attorney General, herewith enclosed, develops the reasons on which his conclusions are based.

I propose, however, from my high respect for yourself, and for other eminent citizens who entertain opinions similar to yours, to set forth, somewhat at length, my own views on the power of the Confederate Government over its own armies and the militia, and will endeavor not to leave without answer any of the positions maintained in your letter.

The main, if not the only purpose for which independent States form Unions or Confederations, is to combine the power of the several members in such manner as to form one united force in all relations with foreign powers, whether in peace or in war. Each State amply competent to administer and control its own domestic government, yet too feeble successfully to resist powerful nations, seeks safety by uniting with other States in like condition, and by delegating to some common agent the combined strength of all, in order to secure advantageous commercial relations in peace and to carry on hostilities with effect in war.

Now, the powers delegated by the several States to the Confederate Government, which is their common agent, are enumerated in the 8th section of the Constitution, each power being distinct, specific, and enumerated in paragraphs separately numbered. The only exception is the 18th paragraph, which, by its own terms, is made dependent on those previously enumerated, as follows:

"18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," etc.

Now, the *war powers* granted to the Congress are conferred in the following paragraphs:



No 1 gives authority to raise "revenue necessary to pay the debts, *provide for the common defense*, and carry on the government," etc.

"No. 11, *to declare war*, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water."

"No. 12, *to raise and support armies*; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years."

"No. 13, *to provide and maintain a navy*."

"No. 14, *to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces*."

It is impossible to imagine a more broad, ample and unqualified delegation of the whole war power of each State than is here contained, with the solitary limitation of the appropriations to two years. The States not only gave power to raise money for the common defense; to declare war; to raise and support armies (in the plural); to provide and maintain a navy; to govern and regulate both land and naval forces; but they went further, and covenanted, by the 3rd paragraph of the 10th section, not "to engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

I know of but two modes of raising armies within the Confederate States, viz.: voluntary enlistment, and draft or conscription. I perceive, in the delegation of power to raise armies, no restriction as to the mode of procuring troops. I see nothing which confines Congress to one class of men, nor any greater power to receive volunteers than conscripts into its service. I see no limitation by which enlistments are to be received of individuals only, but not of companies, or battalions, or squadrons, or regiments. I find no limitation of time of service, but only of duration of appropriation. I discover nothing to confine Congress to waging war within the limits of the Confederacy, nor to prohibit offensive war. In a word, when Congress desires to raise an army, and passes a law for that purpose, the solitary question is under the 18th paragraph, viz.: "Is the law one that is necessary and proper to execute the power to raise armies," etc.?

On this point you say: "But did the necessity exist in this case?" The Conscription Act cannot aid the Government in increasing the supply of *arms* or *provisions*, but can only enable it to call a larger number of *men* into the field. The difficulty has never been to get *men*. The states have already furnished the Government more than it can arm," etc.

I would have very little difficulty in establishing to your entire satisfaction that the passage of the law was not only necessary, but that it was absolutely indispensable; that numerous regiments of twelve months men were on the eve of being disbanded, whose places could not be supplied by new levies in the face of superior numbers of the foe, without entailing the most disastrous results; that the position of our armies was so critical as to fill the bosom of every patriot with the liveliest apprehension; and that the provisions of this law were effective in warding off a pressing danger. But I prefer to answer your objection on other and broader grounds.

I hold, that when a specific power is granted by the Constitution, like that now in question, "to raise armies," Congress is the judge whether the law passed for the purpose of executing that power, is "necessary and proper." It is not enough to say that armies might be raised in other ways, and that, therefore, this particular way is not "necessary." The same argument might be used against *every* mode of raising armies. To each successive mode suggested, the objection would be that other modes were practicable, and that, therefore, the particular mode used was not "necessary." The





true and only test is to inquire whether the law is intended and calculated to carry out the object; whether it devises and creates an instrumentality for executing the specific power granted; and if the answer be in the affirmative, the law is constitutional. None can doubt that the Conscription Law is calculated and intended to "raise armies." It is, therefore, "necessary and proper" for the execution of that power, and is constitutional, unless it comes into conflict with some other provision of our Confederate Compact.

You express the opinion that this conflict exists, and support your argument by the citation of those clauses which refer to the militia. There are certain provisions not cited by you, which are not without influence on my judgment, and to which I call your attention. They will aid in defining what is meant by "militia," and in determining the respective powers of the States and the Confederacy over them.

The several States agree "not to keep *troops* or ships of war in time of peace." Art. 1, sec. 10, par. 3.

They further stipulate, that "a well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Sec. 9, par. 13.

That "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger," etc. Sec. 9, par. 16.

What then are militia? They can only be created by law.—The arms-bearing inhabitants of a State are liable to become its militia, if the law so order; but in the absence of a law to that effect, the men of a State capable of bearing arms are no more militia than they are seamen.

The Constitution also tells us that militia are not *troops*, nor are they any part of the *land or naval forces*; for militia exist in time of peace, and the Constitution forbids the States to keep troops in time of peace, and they are expressly distinguished and placed in a separate category from *land or naval forces*, in the 16th paragraph, above quoted; and the words *land or naval forces* are shown, by paragraphs 12, 13 and 14, to mean the army and navy of the Confederate States.

Now, if militia are not the citizens taken singly, but a body created by law; if they are not troops, if they are no part of the army and navy of the Confederacy—we are led directly to the definition quoted by the Attorney General, that militia are a "*body of soldiers in a State enrolled for discipline.*" In other words, the term "militia" is a collective term, meaning a *body* of men organized, and cannot be applied to the separate individuals who compose the organization.

The Constitution divides the whole military strength of the States into only two classes of organized bodies—one, the armies of the Confederacy; the other, the militia of the States.

In the delegation of power to the Confederacy, after exhausting the subject of declaring war, raising and supporting armies, and providing a navy, in relation to all which the grant of authority to Congress is *exclusive*, the Constitution proceeds to deal with the other organized body, the militia, and instead of delegating power to Congress alone, or reserving it to the States alone, the power is divided as follows, viz.: Congress is to have power—

"To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the *Confederate States*, suppress insurrections, and *repel invasions.*" Sec. 8. Par. 15.



"To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederate states; *reserving to the States respectively the appointment of officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.*" Par. 16.

*Congress*, then, has the power to provide for *organizing* the arms-bearing people of the States into militia. Each *State* has the power to *officer* and *train* them when organized.

*Congress* may call forth the militia to execute *Confederate* laws. The *State* has not surrendered the power to call them forth to execute *State* laws.

*Congress* may call them forth to repel invasion; so may the *State*, for it has expressly reserved this right.

*Congress* may call them forth to suppress insurrection; and so may the *State*, for the power is impliedly reserved of governing all the militia except the part in actual service of the Confederacy.

I confess myself at a loss to perceive in what matter these careful and well defined provisions of the Constitution regulating the organization and government of the militia, can be understood as applying in the remotest degree to the armies of the Confederacy; nor can I conceive how the grant of *exclusive* power to declare and carry on war by armies raised and supported by the Confederacy, is to be restricted or diminished by the clauses which grant a *divided* power over the militia. On the contrary, the delegation of authority over the militia, so far as granted, it appears to me to be plainly an *additional enumerated* power, intended to strengthen the hands of the Confederate Government in the discharge of its paramount duty, the common defense of the States.

You state, after quoting the 12th, 15th and 16th grants of power to Congress, that, "These grants of power all relate to the same subject matter, and are all contained in the same section of the Constitution, and by a well known rule of construction, must be taken as a whole, and construed together."

This argument appears to me unsound.—1/ the powers of Congress are enumerated in one section; and the three paragraphs quoted can no more control each other by reason of their location in the same section, than they can control any of the other paragraphs preceding, intervening, or succeeding. So far as the subject matter is concerned, I have already endeavored to show that the armies mentioned in the 12th paragraphs are a subject matter as distinct from the militia mentioned in the 15th and 16th, as they are from the navy mentioned in the 13th. Nothing can so mislead as to construe together and as a whole, the carefully separated clauses which define the different powers to be exercised over distinct subjects by the Congress. But, you add, that, "by the grant of power to Congress to raise and support armies, without qualification, the framers of the Constitution intended the regular armies of the Confederacy, and not armies composed of the whole militia of all the States."

I must confess myself somewhat at a loss to understand this position. If I am right, that the militia is a *body* of enrolled State soldiers, it is not possible, in the nature of things, that armies raised by the Confederacy can "be composed of the whole militia of all the States." The militia may be called forth, in whole or in part, into the Confederate service, but do not thereby become part of the "armies raised" by Congress. They remain militia, and go home when the emergency which provoked their call has ceased. Armies raised by Congress are of course raised out of the *same population* as the militia organized by the States; and to deny to Congress the power to draft a citizen into the army, or to receive his voluntary offer of services because he is a member of the State militia, is to deny the power to raise an army at all; for, practically, all men



fit for service in the army may be embraced in the militia organizations of the several States. You seem, however, to suggest, rather than directly to assert, that the Conscription law may be unconstitutional, because it comprehends all arms-bearing men between 18 and 35 years : at least this is an inference which I draw from your expression, "armies composed of the *whole* militia of *all* the States." But it is obvious, that if Congress have power to draft into the armies raised by it any citizens at all (without regard to the fact whether they are or not members of militia organizations), the power must be co-extensive with the exigencies of the occasion, or it becomes illusory ; and the extent of the exigency must be determined by Congress ; for the Constitution has left the power without any other check or restriction than the Executive veto. Under ordinary circumstances, the power thus delegated to Congress is scarcely felt by the States. At the present moment, when our very existence is threatened, by armies vastly superior in numbers to ours, the necessity for defence has induced a call, not "for the whole militia of all the States," not for *any* militia, but for *men* to compose *armies* for the Confederate States.

Surely, there is no mystery on this subject. During our whole past history, as well as during our recent one year's experience as a new Confederacy, the militia "have been called forth to repel invasion" in numerous instances ; and they never came otherwise than of bodies organized by the States, with their company, field, and *general officers* ; and when the emergency had passed, they went home again.

I cannot perceive how any one can interpret the Conscription Law as taking away from the States the power to appoint officers to their militia. You observe on this point in your letter, that unless your construction is adopted, "the very object of the States in reserving the power of appointing the officers, is defeated, and that portion of the Constitution is not only a nullity, but the whole military power of the States, and the entire control of the militia, with the appointment of the officers, is vested in the Confederate Government, whenever it chooses to call its own action 'raising an army,' and not calling forth the militia."

I can only say, in reply to this, that the power of Congress depends on the real nature of the act it proposes to perform, not on the name given to it ; and I have endeavored to show that its action is merely that of "raising an army," and bears no semblance to "calling forth the militia." I think I may safely venture the assertion, that there is not one man out of a thousand of those who will do service under the Conscription Act that would describe himself, while in the Confederate service, as being a militia man ; and if I am right in this assumption, the popular understanding concurs entirely with my own deductions from the Constitution as to the meaning of the word "militia."

My answer has grown to such a length that I must confine myself to one more quotation from your letter. You proceed : "Congress shall have power to *raise armies*. How shall it be done ? The answer is clear. In conformity to the provisions of the Constitution, which expressly provides that when the militia of the States are called forth to *repel invasion*, and employed in the service of the Confederate States, which is now the case, the State shall appoint the officers."

I beg you to observe that the answer which you say is clear, is not an answer to the question put. The question is : How are armies to be raised ? The answer given is, that when militia are called forth to repel invasion, the State shall appoint the officers.

There seems to me to be a conclusive test on this whole subject. By our Constitution Congress may declare war, *offensive* as well as *defensive*. It may acquire territory.—Now, suppose that for good cause, and to right unprovoked injuries, Congress should declare





war against Mexico, and invade Sonora. The militia could not be called forth in such a case, the right to call it being limited to "repel invasions." Is it not plain that the law now under discussion if passed under such circumstances, could by no possibility be aught else than a law to "raise an army?" Can one and the same law be construed into a "calling forth the militia," if the war be defensive, and a "raising of armies," if the war be offensive?

At some future day, after our independence shall have been established, it is no improbable supposition that our present enemy may be tempted to abuse his naval power, by depredation on our commerce, and that we may be compelled to assert our rights by offensive war. How is it to be carried on? Of what is the army to be composed? If this Government cannot call on its arms-bearing population otherwise than as militia, and if the militia can only be called forth to repel invasion, we should be utterly helpless to vindicate our honor or protect our rights. War has been well styled "the terrible litigation of nations." Have we so formed our Government, that in this litigation we must never be plaintiff? Surely this cannot have been the intention of the framers of our compact.

In no aspect in which I can view this law, can I find just reason to distrust the propriety of my action in approving and signing it; and the question presented involves consequences, both immediate and remote, too momentous to permit me to leave your objections unanswered.

In conclusion, I take great pleasure in recognizing that the history of the past year affords the amplest justification for your assertion, that if the question had been, whether the Conscription Law was necessary in order to raise men in Georgia, the answer must have been in the negative. Your noble State has promptly responded to every call that it has been my duty to make on her; and to you, personally, as her Executive, I acknowledge my indebtedness for the prompt, cordial, and effective co-operation you have afforded me in the effort to defend our common country against the common enemy.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOS. E. BROWN,

Governor of Georgia, Milledgeville.

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#### REPLY OF GOV. BROWN.

ATLANTA, June 21st, 1862.

HIS EXCELLENCY JEFFERSON DAVIS, PRESIDENT, ETC.

*Dear Sir:*—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., in reply to mine of the 8th of the same month, which reached my office, at Milledgeville, on the 8th inst., together with a copy of the written opinion of the Attorney General, and has since been forwarded to me at Canton, where I was detained by family affliction.

Your reply, prepared after mature deliberation and consultation with a Cabinet of distinguished ability, who concur in your view of the constitutionality of the Conscription Act, doubtless presents the very strongest argument in defense of the Act, of which the case is susceptible.

Entertaining, as I do, the highest respect for your opinions and those of each individ-





ual member of your Cabinet, it is with great diffidence that I express the conviction, which I still entertain, after a careful perusal of your letter, that your argument fails to sustain the constitutionality of the Act; and that the conclusion at which you have arrived is maintained by neither the contemporaneous construction put upon the Constitution by those who made it, nor by the practice of the United States Government, under it, during the earlier and better days of the Republic, nor by the language of the instrument itself, taking the whole context, and applying to it the well established rules by which all constitutions and laws are to be construed.

Looking to the magnitude of the rights involved, and the disastrous consequences which, I fear, must follow what I consider a bold and dangerous usurpation by Congress of the reserved rights of the States, and a rapid stride towards military despotism, I very much regret that I have not, in the preparation of this reply, the advice and assistance of a number equal to your Cabinet, of the many "eminent citizens" who, you admit, entertain with me, the opinion that the Conscription Act is a palpable violation of the Constitution of the Confederacy. Without this assistance, however, I must proceed individually to express to you some views, in addition to those contained in my former letters, and to reply to such points made by you in the argument, as seem to my mind to have the most plausibility in sustaining your conclusion.

The sovereignty and independence of each one of the thirteen States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, will not, I presume, be denied by any, nor will it be denied that each of these States acted in its separate capacity, as an independent sovereign, in the adoption of the Constitution. The Constitution is, therefore, a league between sovereigns. In order to place upon it a just construction, we must apply to it the rules, which, by common consent, govern in the construction of all written constitutions and laws. One of the first of these rules is, to inquire what was the intention of those who made the Constitution.

To enable us to learn this intention, it is important to inquire what they did, and what they said they meant, when they were making it. In other words, to inquire for the contemporaneous construction put upon the instrument by those who made it, and the explanations of its meaning by those who proposed each part in the Convention, which induced the Convention to adopt each part.

I incorporated into my last letter a number of quotations from the debates of prominent members of the Convention upon the very point in question, showing that it was not the intention of the Convention to give to Congress the unlimited control of all the men able to bear arms in the States, but that it was their intention to reserve to the States the control over those who composed their militia, by retaining to the States the appointment of the officers to command them, even while "employed in the service of the Confederate States." I might add many other quotations containing strong proofs of this position, from the debates of the Federal Convention, and the action of the State Conventions which adopted the Constitution; but I deem it unnecessary, as you made no allusion to the contemporaneous construction in your reply, and I presume you do not insist that the explanations of its meaning given by those who made it sustain your conclusion.

I feel that I am fully justified by the debates and the action of the Federal and State Conventions, in saying that it was the intention of the thirteen sovereigns, to constitute a common agent with certain specific and limited powers, to be exercised for the good of all the principals, but that it was not the intention to give the agent the power to *destroy the principals*. The agent was expected to be rather the servant of several mas-



ters, than the master of several servants. I apprehend it was never imagined that the time would come when the agent of the sovereigns would claim the power to take from each sovereign every man belonging to each, able to bear arms, and leave them with no power to execute their own laws, suppress insurrections in their midst, or repel invasions.

In reference to the practice of the United States Government under the Constitution, I need only remark, that I do not presume it will be contended that Congress claimed or exercised the right to compel persons constituting the militia of the States, by *conscription or compulsion*, to enter the service of the General Government, without the consent of their State Government, at any time while the Government was administered, or its councils controlled, by any of the fathers of the Republic who aided in the formation of the Constitution.

If, then, the constitutionality of the Conscription Act cannot be established by the contemporaneous construction of the Constitution, nor by the earlier practice of the Government while administered by those who made the Constitution, the remaining inquiry is, can it be established by the language of the instrument itself, taking the whole context, and applying to it the usual rules of construction, which were generally received and admitted to be authoritative at the time it was made.

The Constitution, in express language, gives Congress the power to "raise and support armies." You rest the case here, and say you know of but two modes of "raising armies," to wit: "by voluntary enlistment, and by draft or conscription," and you conclude that the Constitution authorizes Congress to raise them by either or both these modes.

To enable us to arrive at an intelligent conclusion as to the meaning intended to be conveyed by those who used this language, it is necessary to inquire what signification was attached to the terms used, at the time they were used; and it is fair to infer that those who used them intended to convey to the minds of others the idea which was at that time usually conveyed by the language adopted by them. Apply this rule, and what did the Convention mean by the term "to raise armies?" I prefer that the Attorney General should answer. He says in his written opinion:

"Inasmuch as the words 'militia,' 'armies,' 'regular troops,' and 'volunteers,' had acquired a definite meaning in Great Britain before the Revolutionary war, and as we have derived most of our ideas on this subject from that source, we may safely conclude that the term 'militia,' in our Constitution, was used in the sense attached to it in that country."

Upon this statement of the Attorney General rests his definition of the term "militia," which is an English definition; and upon that definition rests all that part of your argument, which draws a distinction, however unsubstantial, between *calling forth* the militia by authority of Congress, and calling forth all men in the State who compose the militia by the same authority. In the one case, you term it *calling forth the militia*, and admit that the State has the right to appoint the officers: in the other case, while every man called forth may be the same, you term it *raising an army*, and deny to the State the appointment of the officers. As this is necessary to sustain the constitutionality of the Conscription Act, you cannot disapprove the statement of the Attorney General above quoted. If, then, the Attorney General is right, that the terms "militia," "armies," "regular troops," and "volunteers" had acquired a definite meaning in Great Britain before the Revolutionary war, and we have derived most of our ideas on this subject from that source, and if we may safely conclude that the term "militia" in our Constitution was used in the sense attached to it in that country, is it not equally safe to con-



clude that the terms "armies," and to "raise armies," having acquired a definite meaning in Great Britain before the Revolutionary war, were used in our Constitution in the same sense attached to them in that country?

At that period, the Government of Great Britain had no Conscription Act, and did not "raise armies" by conscription, therefore the Convention which made our Constitution, "having derived most of their ideas on this subject from that source," it is "safe to conclude" that they used the term to "raise armies in the sense attached to it in that country." It necessarily follows, the Attorney General being the judge, that your conclusion is erroneous, and that Congress has no power to "raise armies," not even her "regular armies," *by conscription*.

But, as those who framed the Constitution foresaw that Congress might not be able by voluntary enlistment, to raise regular or standing armies sufficiently large to meet all emergencies, or that the people might refuse to vote supplies to maintain in the field armies so large and dangerous, they wisely provided, in connection with this grant of power, another relating to the same subject-matter, and gave Congress the additional power to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederate States, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

In this connection, I am reminded by your letter, that Congress has power "to declare war," which you say embraces the right to declare offensive as well as defensive war; and you argue, as I understand, that the militia can only be called forth to repel invasions, and not to invade a foreign power, and that Congress would be powerless to redress our wrongs, or vindicate our honor, if it could not "raise armies" by conscription, to invade foreign powers. If this were even so, it might be an objection to the Constitutional Government, for want of sufficient strength, which is an objection often made by those who favor more absolute power in the General Government, and who attempt, by a latitudinarian construction of the Constitution, to supply powers which were never intended to be given to it. But does the practical difficulty which you suggest, in fact exist? I maintain that it does not. And I may here remark, that those who established the Government of our fathers, did not look to it, as a great military power whose people were to live by plundering other nations in foreign aggressive war, but a peaceful Government, advised by the Father of his Country, to avoid "entangling alliances" with foreign powers.

But you suppose, after our independence is established, that our present enemy may be tempted to abuse his naval power, by depredation on our commerce, and that we may be compelled to assert our rights by offensive war, and you ask, "How is it to be carried on?" "Of what is the army to be composed?" The answer is a very simple one. If the aggression is such as to justify us in the declaration of offensive war, our people will have the intelligence to know it, and the patriotism and valor to prompt them to respond by voluntary enlistment, and to offer themselves under officers of their own choice, through their State authorities, to the Confederacy, just as they did in the offensive war against Mexico, when many more were offered than were needed, without conscription or coercion; and just as they have done in our present defensive war, when almost every State has responded to every call, by sending larger numbers than were called for, and larger than the Government can arm and make effective. There is no danger that the honor of the intelligent freeborn citizens of this Confederacy will ever suffer because the Government has not the power to *compel* them to vindicate it. They will hold the Government responsible if it refuses to *permit* them to do it. To doubt





this, would seem to be, to doubt the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and their competency for self-government.

It would be very dangerous, indeed, to give the General Government the power to engage in an offensive foreign war the justice of which was condemned by the Governments of the States, and the intelligence of the people, and to compel them to prosecute it for two years, the terms for which appropriations can be made and continued by the Congress declaring it. Hence the wisdom of our ancestors in limiting the power of Congress over the militia, or great body of our people, so as to prohibit the prosecution, by *conscription or coercion*, of an offensive foreign war, which may be condemned by an intelligent public opinion.

France has a conscription act, which Great Britain has not. Both are warlike powers, often engaged in foreign offensive wars. What advantage has the conscription law given to France over Great Britain? Has not the latter been as able as the former to "raise armies" sufficient to vindicate her honor and maintain her rights? When France had no conscription law at one period of her history, she was a Republic. Soon after she had a conscription law, she became an Empire, and her ruler an Emperor, leaving her people without the constitutional safeguard which protects the people of Great Britain.

But you ask, "Shall we never be plaintiff in this 'terrible litigation of nations?'" If the litigation commends itself to the intelligence of the people as just, they will not hesitate to put themselves at the command of the Government to assume the plaintiff's position. The eagerness with which the people of the Confederacy now desire that we assume the plaintiff's position, and become the attacking and invading party, instead of acting constantly upon the defensive, is evidence to sustain my conclusion on this point.

That those who framed the Constitution looked to a state of war as tending to concentrate the power in the Executive, and as unfavorable to constitutional liberty, and did not intend to encourage it, unless in cases of absolute necessity, and did not, therefore, form the Government with a view to its becoming a power often engaged in offensive war, may be inferred from the language of Mr. Madison. He says:

"War, is, in fact, the true nurse of Executive aggrandizement. In war a physical force is to be created, and it is the Executive will which is to direct it. In war the public treasures are to be unlocked, and it is the Executive hand which is to dispense them. In war, the honors and emoluments of office are to be multiplied, and it is the Executive patronage under which they are to be enjoyed. It is in war, finally, that laurels are to be gathered, and it is the Executive brow they are to encircle. The strongest passions and most dangerous weaknesses of the human breast—ambition, avarice, vanity, the honorable or venial love of fame, are all in conspiracy against the desire and duty of peace." See *Federalist*, page 452.

In connection with this remark of Mr. Madison, it may not be amiss to add one from Mr. Calhoun. That great and good man who may justly be styled the champion of *State Rights and Constitutional Liberty*, in the first volume of his works, page 361, while speaking of the war which was forced upon Mr. Madison while President, by Great Britain, says:

"It did more; for the war, however just and necessary, gave a strong impulse adverse to the Federal and favorable to the national line of policy. This is, indeed, one of the unavoidable consequences of war, and can be counteracted only by bringing into full action the *negatives* necessary to the protection of the *reserved powers*. These would, of themselves, have the effect of preventing wars, so long as they could be honorably and



safely avoided; and when necessary, of arresting, to a great extent, *the tendency of the Government to transcend the limits of the Constitution during its prosecution*, and of correcting all departures after its termination. It was by force of the tribunitial power that the plebeians retained for so long a period their liberty in the midst of so many wars."

I beg to call special attention to the portions of the above quotation which I have *italicized*.

Having rested the constitutionality of the Conscription Act upon the power given to Congress to "raise armies," you enunciate a doctrine which I must be pardoned for saying, struck me with surprise; not that the doctrine was new, for it was first proclaimed, I believe, almost as strongly, by Mr. Hamilton in the *Federalist*, but because it found an advocate in you, whom I had for many years regarded as one of the ablest and boldest defenders of the doctrines of the State Rights school, in the old government. Your language is:

"I hold that when a specific power is granted by the Constitution, like that now in question, to 'raise armies,' Congress is the judge whether the law passed for the purpose of executing that power, is necessary and proper."

Again you say:

"The true and only test is, to inquire whether the law is intended and calculated to carry out the object, whether it devises and creates an instrumentality for executing the specific power granted, and if the answer be in the affirmative the law is constitutional."

From this you argue that the Conscription Act is calculated and intended to "raise armies," and, therefore, constitutional.

I am not aware that the proposition was ever stated more broadly in favor of unrestrained Congressional power, by Webster, Story, or any other statesman or jurist of the Federal school.

This is certainly not the doctrine of the republican party of 1798, as set forth in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. The Virginia Resolutions use the following language, that, "It (the General Assembly of Virginia) views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in the case of a *deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by said compact, the States* who are parties thereto, *have the right* and are in duty bound to *interpose for arresting the progress of the evil*, and for *maintaining* within their respective limits the *authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them*. That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret, that a spirit has in sundry instances been manifested by the Federal Government, *to enlarge its powers by a forced construction of the Constitutional charter which defines them*; and that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases—(which having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former articles of Confederation were the less liable to be misconstrued)—so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration, which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases, so as to consolidate the States by degrees into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable result of which would be to transform the present Republican system of the United States, *into an absolute or at least a mixed monarchy*."

The following quotations are from the Kentucky Resolutions drawn up by Mr. Jefferson himself (the italics, as in the last quotation, are my own). "That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of



*unlimited submission to the General Government; but that, by a compact under the style and title of a Constitution of the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes—delegated to that Government certain definite powers; reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-Government; that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers its acts are unauthorized, void and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party—its co-States forming as to itself the other party; that the Government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final JUDGE of the extent of the powers delegated to it—since that would have made ITS DISCRETION and not the Constitution the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common JUDGE, each has an equal right to JUDGE for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress."*

And again:

*"That the construction applied by the General Government (as evinced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States which delegate to Congress a power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; and to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all the limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution. That words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers ought not to be so construed, as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so to be taken as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument."*

But let us examine your doctrine a little further and see whether it can be reconciled to the construction lately put upon the Constitution by the States composing the Confederacy, over which you preside, and the action lately taken by them.

The Constitution of the United States gives Congress the power to provide for calling forth the militia to "suppress insurrection." Carry out your doctrine, and Congress must of course be the *Judge* of what constitutes an insurrection, as well as of the means "*necessary and proper*" to be used in executing the specific power given to Congress to suppress it. Georgia, claiming that the Congress of the United States had abused the specific powers granted to it, and passed laws which were not "*necessary and proper*" in executing these specific powers, which were injurious to her people, and claiming to be herself the *Judge*, seceded from the Union. Congress denied her power or right to do so, and acting upon the doctrine laid down by you, Congress claiming to be the *Judge*, proceeded to adjudicate the case, and determined that the action of Georgia amounted to an insurrection, and passed laws for its suppression. Among others, they have passed a law, if we may credit the newspapers, which authorizes the President to arm our negroes against us. Congress will, no doubt, justify this act, under the specific power given to it by the Constitution, to "raise armies," as the armies, as well as the militia may be used to suppress insurrection, and to execute the laws. Apply the test laid down by you, and inquire, is this law "calculated and intended" to carry out the object (the suppression of the insurrection, and the execution of the laws of the United States in Georgia)? and does it "devise and create an instrumentality for executing the specific power granted?" Congress, the *Judge*, answers the question in the affirmative. Therefore the law is constitutional.

Again, suppose you are right, and Congress has the constitutional power to "raise armies" by Conscription, and without the consent of the States, to compel every man in





the Confederacy, between 18 and 35 years old, able to bear arms, to enter these armies, you must admit that Congress has the same power to extend the law, and compel every man between 16 and 60 to enter. And, you must admit that the grant of power is as broad in times of peace as in times of war, as there is in the grant no language to limit it to times of war. It follows that Congress has the absolute control of every man in the State, whenever it chooses to execute to the full extent the power given it by the Constitution to "raise armies." How easy a matter it would have been, therefore, had the Congress of the United States understood the full extent of its powers to have prevented in a manner perfectly constitutional, the secession of Georgia and Mississippi from the Union. It was only necessary to pass a *Conscription Law* declaring every man in both States, able to bear arms, to be in the military service of the United States, and that each should be treated as a deserter if he refused to serve; and that Congress, *the Judge*, then decide that this law was "necessary and proper," and that it created an instrumentality for the execution of one of the specific powers granted to Congress to provide for the execution of the laws of the Union in the two States, or to provide for "raising armies." This would have left the States without a single man at their command, without the power to organize or use military force, and without free men to constitute even a Convention to pass an ordinance of secession.

If it is said, the people of the States would have refused to obey this law of Congress, and would have gone out in defiance of it: it may be replied that this would have been revolution and not peaceful secession, the right for which we have all contended—though our enemies have not permitted us to part with them in peace—the right for which we are now fighting.

Your doctrine carried out not only makes Congress supreme over the States, at any time when it chooses to exercise the full measure of its power to "raise armies," but it places the very existence of the State Governments subject to the will of Congress. The Conscription Act makes no exception in favor of the officers necessary to the existence of the State Government, but in substance declares that they shall all enter the service of the Confederacy, at the call of the President, under officers which are in future to be appointed by the President.

As already remarked, Congress has as much power to extend the act to embrace all between 16 and 60, as it had to take all between 18 and 35. If the act is constitutional, it follows that Congress has the power to compel the Governor of every State in the Confederacy, every member of every Legislature of every State, every Judge of every Court in every State, every officer of the Militia in every State, and all other State officers to enter the military service as privates in the armies of the Confederacy, under officers appointed by the President, at any time when it so decides. In other words, Congress may disband the State Governments any day when it, as *the judge*, decides that by so doing it "creates an instrumentality for executing the specific power" "to raise armies."

If Congress has the right to discriminate, and take only those between 18 and 35, it has the right to make any other discrimination it may judge "necessary and proper" in the "execution of the power," and it may pass a law in time of peace or war, if it should conclude the State Governments are an evil, that all State officers, Executive, Legislative, Judicial and Military, shall enter the armies of the Confederacy as privates under officers appointed by the President, and that the army shall from time to time be recruited from other State officers as they may be appointed by the States.

To state the case in different form, Congress has the power under the 12th paragraph





of the 8th section of the 1st Article of the Constitution to disband the State Governments, and leave the people of the States with no other Government than such military despotism, as Congress in the exercise of the specific power to "raise armies" (which I understand you to hold is a distinct power to be construed separately) may, after an application of your test, *judge* to be best for the people.

For, as all the State officers which I mention might make effective privates in the armies of the Confederacy, and as the law passed to compel them to enter the service might "create an instrumentality for executing the specific power to "raise armies," Congress, *the judge*, need only so decide and the act would be constitutional.

I may be reminded, however, that Congress passed an *Exemption Act* after the passage of the Conscription Act, which exempts the Governors of the States, the members of the State Legislatures, the Judges of the State Courts, etc., from the obligation to enter the military service of the Confederacy as privates under Confederate officers. It must be borne in mind, however, that this very act of exemption by Congress is an assertion of the right vested in Congress to compel them to go, when Congress shall so direct, as Congress has the same power to repeal which it had to pass the Exemption Act. All the State officers, therefore, are exempt from Conscription by the *grace and special favor of Congress* and not by *right*, as the Governments of the independent States whose agent, and not master, Congress has been erroneously supposed to be. If this doctrine be correct, of what value are *State rights* and *State sovereignty*?

In my former letter I insisted, under the general rule, that the 12th, 15th and 16th paragraphs of the section under consideration, all relating to the same *subject matter*, should be construed together. While your language on this point is not so clear as in other parts of your letter, I understand you to take issue with me here. You say:

"Nothing can so mislead as to construe together and as one whole, the carefully separated clauses, which define the different powers to be exercised over distinct subjects by Congress."

These are not carefully separated clauses which relate to different powers, to be exercised over *distinct subjects*. They all relate to the *same subject matter*, the authority given to Congress over the question of war and peace. They all relate to the use of armed force by authority of Congress. If, therefore, Coke, Blackstone and Mansfield of England, and Marshall, Kent and Story of this country, with all other intelligent writers on the rules of construction, are to be respected as authority, there can, it would seem, be no doubt of the correctness of the position that these three paragraphs, together with all others in the Constitution which relate to the same subject matter, are to be construed together "as one whole."

Construe them together, and the general language in one paragraph, is so qualified by another paragraph, upon the *same subject matter*, that all can stand together, and the whole when taken together, establishes to my mind the unsoundness of your argument and the fallacy of your conclusion.

But I must not omit to notice your definition of the term "militia," and the deductions which you draw from it.

You adopt the definition of the Attorney General, that "the militia are a body of soldiers in a State enrolled for discipline." Admit, for the purposes of the argument, the correctness of the definition. All persons, therefore, who are enrolled for discipline under the laws of Georgia constitute her militia. When the persons thus enrolled (the militia) are employed in the service of the Confederate States, the Constitution expressly reserves to Georgia the appointment of the officers. The Conscription Act gives the



President the power by compulsion to employ every one of those persons, between 18 and 35, in the service of the Confederate States; and denies to the State the appointment of a single officer to command them, while thus "employed." Suppose Congress at its next session should extend the act so as to embrace all between 18 and 45, what is the result? "The body of soldiers in the State enrolled for discipline" are every man "employed in the service of the Confederacy," and the right is denied to the State to appoint a single officer, when the Constitution says she shall appoint them all. Is it fair to conclude, when the State expressly and carefully reserved the control of their own militia, by reserving the appointment of the officers to command them, that they intended under the general grant of power to "raise armies," to authorize Congress to defeat the reservation and control the militia, with their officers, by calling the very same men into the field, *individually* and not *collectively*, organizing them according to its own will, and terming its action "raising an army" and *not calling forth the militia*? Surely the great men of the revolution when they denied to the General Government the appointment even of the *General Officers*, to command the militia when employed in the service of the Confederacy, did not imagine that the time would come so soon when that Government, under the power to "raise armies," would claim and exercise the authority to call into the field the whole militia of the States, individually, and deny to the States the appointment of the lowest lieutenant, and justify the act on the ground that Congress did not choose to call them into service in their collective capacity, and deny that they were militia if called into service in any other way.

If Congress has the power to call forth the whole enrolled force or militia of the States in the manner provided by the Conscription Act, there is certainly no *obligation* upon Congress ever to *call them forth* in any other manner, and it rests in the *discretion* of Congress whether or not the State shall ever be permitted to exercise their reserved right; as Congress has the power in every case to defeat the exercise of the right by calling forth the militia under a conscription act, and not by requisitions made upon the States. It cannot be just to charge the States with the folly of making this important reservation, subject to any such power in Congress to render it nugatory at its pleasure.

Again, you say "Congress may call forth the militia to execute *Confederate* laws; the *State* has not surrendered the power to call them forth to execute *State* laws."

"Congress may call them forth to repel invasion; so may the *State*, for it has expressly reserved this right."

"Congress may call them forth to suppress insurrection and so may the *State*."

If the conscription law is to control, and Congress may, without the consent of the State Government, order every man composing the militia of the State, out of the State, into the Confederate service, how is the State to call forth her own militia, as you admit she has reserved the right to do, to execute her own laws, suppress an insurrection in her midst, or repel an invasion of her own territory?

Could it have been the intention of the States to delegate to Congress the power to take from them without their consent the means of self-preservation, by depriving them of all the strength upon which their very existence depends?

After laying down the position that the citizens of a State are not her militia, and affirming that the militia are "a body organized by law," you deny that the militia constitute any part of the *land or naval forces*, and say they are distinguished from the *land and naval forces*, and you further say they have always been *called forth* as "bodies organized by the States," with their officers; that they "do not become part of the



*armies raised by Congress,"* but remain militia, and that when they had been called forth, and the exigencies which provoked the call had passed, "they went home again." The militia when *called forth* are taken from the body of the people, to meet an emergency, or to repel invasion. If they go in as "bodies organized by the States," you hold that they go in *militia*, remain *militia*, and when the exigency is passed they go home *militia*, but if you *call forth* the same men by the Conscription Act for the same purpose, and they remain for the same length of time, and do the same service, they are not *militia* but the *armies* of the Confederacy, part of the *land or naval force*. In connection with this part of the subject you use the following language:

"At the present moment when our very existence is threatened by armies vastly superior in numbers to ours, the necessity for defense has induced a call, not for the whole militia of all the States, not for *any* militia, but for *men* to compose *armies* for the Confederate States."

In the midst of such pressing danger, why was it that there was no necessity for *any* militia; in other words, no necessity for any "bodies of men organized by the States," as were many of the most gallant regiments now in the Confederate service, who have won on the battle-field a name in history, and laurels that can never fade?

Were no more such bodies "organized by the States" needed, because the material remaining within the States of which they must be composed was not reliable? The Conscription Act gives you the very same material. Was it because the officers appointed by the States to command the gallant State regiments and other "organized bodies" sent by the States were less brave or less skillful than the officers appointed by the President to command similar "organized bodies?" The officers appointed by the States who now command regiments in the service, will not fear to have impartial history answer this question. Was it because you wished select men for the *armies* of the Confederacy? The Conscription Act embraces *all*, without distinction, between 18 and 35 able to do military duty and not legally exempt. You do not take the militia. What do you take? You take every man between certain ages, of whom the militia is composed. What is the difference between taking the militia and taking all the men who compose the militia? Simply this: In the one case you take them *with their officers appointed by the States*, as the Constitution requires, and call them by their proper name, "militia," "employed in the service of the Confederate States." In the other case you take them all as individuals—get rid of the State officers—appoint officers of your own choice, and call them the "armies of the Confederacy." And yet these armies, like you say the militia do, will "go home" when the exigency has passed, as it is hoped they are not expected to be permanent like the *regular armies* of the Confederacy; or in other words, like the *land and naval forces* provided for in the Constitution, from which you distinguish the militia. Indeed, the similarity between these "armies of the Confederacy," *called forth* in an emergency, to repel an invasion, to be disbanded when the emergency is passed; and the militia or bodies of troops organized and officered by the States, *called forth* for the same purpose, to be composed of the same material and disbanded at the same time, is most remarkable in everything, except the name and the appointment of the officers.

Excuse me for calling your attention to another point in this connection.

As you admit the militia have always been *called forth* as "bodies organized by the States," and when thus called forth that the States have always appointed the officers, I presume you will not deny that when the President, by authority of Congress has made a call upon a State for "organized bodies of soldiers," and they have been furnished





by the State from the body of her people, they have entered the service as part of the militia of the State "employed in the service of the Confederate States" under the 15th and 16th paragraphs of the 8th Section of the 1st Article of the Constitution.

Your message to Congress recommending its passage shows that there was no necessity for the act, to enable you to get troops, as you admit that the Executives of the State had enabled you to keep in the field *adequate forces*, and also that the spirit of resistance among the people was such that it needed to be regulated and not stimulated. You say :

"I am happy to assure you of the entire harmony of purpose and cordiality of feeling which have continued to exist between myself and the Executives of the several States, and it is to this cause that our success in keeping adequate forces in the field is to be attributed." Again you say :

"The vast preparations made by the enemy for combined assault at numerous points on our frontier and sea coast, have produced the result that might have been expected. They have animated the people with a spirit of resistance so general, so resolute and so self-sacrificing, that it requires rather to be regulated than to be stimulated."

If then the Executives of the States by their cordial co-operation had enabled you to keep in the field "adequate forces," and the spirit of resistance was as high as you state, there was no need of a Conscription Act to enable you to "raise armies."

Since the invasion of the Confederacy by our present enemy, you have made frequent calls upon me as Governor of this State for "organized bodies" of troops. I have responded to every call and sent them as required, "organized" according to the laws of the State, and commanded by officers appointed by the State, and in most instances, fully armed, accoutred and equipped. These bodies were *called forth* to meet an emergency, and assist in repelling an invasion. The emergency is not yet passed, the invasion is not yet repelled, and they have not yet returned home. If your position be correct they constitute no part of the *land or naval forces* as they were not *organized* nor their officers appointed by the President, as is the case with the *armies* of the Confederacy, but they were *called forth* as bodies "organized and their officers appointed by the States." Hence they are part of the militia of Georgia employed in the service of the Confederate States as provided by the two paragraphs of the Constitution above quoted, and by paragraph 16 of Section 9 of the 1st Article which terms them "militia in actual service in time of war or public danger." They entered the service with only the training common to the citizens of the State. They are now well trained troops. But having gone in as "bodies organized by the State," or as *militia*, you say they remain militia, and go home militia. In this case we seem to agree that the State, under the express reservation in the Constitution, has the right to appoint the officers. I have the written opinion of Mr. Benjamin, then Secretary of War, about the time of the last call for twelve regiments, concurring in this view, and recognizing this right of the State. And it is proper that I should remark that the State has, in each case, been permitted to exercise this right, when the troops entered the service in compliance with a requisition upon the State for "organized bodies of troops." The right does not stop here, however. The Constitution does not say the State shall appoint the officers while the organizations may be forming to enter the service of the Confederacy, but while they "may be employed in the service of the Confederate States." Many thousands are now so employed. Vacancies in the different offices are frequently occurring by death, resignation, etc. The laws of this State provide how these vacancies are to be filled and it is *not* to be done by promotion of the officer next in rank, except in a single



instance, but by election of the regiment, and commission by the Governor. The right of the State to appoint these officers seems to be admitted, and is, indeed, too clear to be questioned.

The Conscription Act, if it is to be construed according to its language, and the practice which your Generals are establishing under it, denies to the State the exercise of this right, and prescribes a rule for selecting all officers in future, unknown to the laws of Georgia, and confers upon the President the power to commission them. Can this usurpation (I think no milder term expresses it faithfully) be justified under the clause in the Constitution which gives Congress power to "raise armies?" and is this part of the Act constitutional? If not, you have failed to establish the constitutionality of the Conscription Act.

The 14th paragraph of the 9th Section of the 1st Article of the Constitution of the Confederate States declares that—

"A *well regulated militia* being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." This was no part of the original Constitution as reported by the Convention and adopted by the States. But "The Convention of a number of the States having at the time of their adopting the Constitution expressed a desire in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added, Congress at the session begun and held at the city of New York, on Wednesday the 4th of March, 1789, proposed to the Legislatures of the several States twelve amendments, ten of which only were adopted."

The second amendment was the one above quoted, which shows very clearly that the States were jealous of the control which Congress might claim over their militia, and required on this point a further "restrictive clause" than was contained in the original Constitution.

The 16th paragraph of the preceding Section expressly reserves to the States "the authority of *training* the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." In connection with this, you admit that the States reserved the right to call forth their own militia to execute their own laws, suppress insurrections or repel invasions. This authority to *call them forth* would have been of no value without the authority to *appoint officers to command them*; and the further authority to *train* them; as they cannot without *officers and training* be the *well regulated militia* which the Constitution says is "necessary to the security of a free State."

The conclusion would seem naturally to follow, that the States did not intend by any general words used in the grant of power, to give Congress the right to take from them, as often as appointed, the officers selected by them to *train* and *regulate* their militia and prepare them for efficiency, when they may be called forth to support the very existence of the State.

The Conscription Act embraces so large a proportion of the militia officers of this State, as to disband the militia in the event they should be compelled to leave their commands. This would leave me without the power to reorganize them, as a vacancy can only be created in one of these offices by resignation of the incumbent, or by the voluntary performance of some act which amounts to an abandonment of his command, or by a sentence of a Court Martial dismissing him from office. The officer who is dragged from his command by Conscription, or compulsion, and placed in the ranks, is in neither category; and his office is no more vacated than the office of a judge would be, if he were ordered into military service without his consent. And unless there be a



vacancy I have no right to fill the place, either by ordering an election, or by a brevet appointment. I have no right in either case to commission a successor so long as there is a legal incumbent.

Viewing the Conscription Act in this particular as not only unconstitutional, but as striking a blow at the very existence of the State, by disbanding the portion of her militia left within her limits, when much the larger part of her "arms-bearing people" are absent in other States in the military service of the Confederacy, leaving their families and other helpless women and children, subject to massacre by negro insurrection for want of an organized force to suppress it, I felt it an imperative duty which I owed the people of this State, to inform you in a former letter that I could not permit the disorganization to take place, nor the State officers to be compelled to leave their respective commands and enter the Confederate service as Conscripts.—Were it not a fact well known to the country that you now have in service tens of thousands of men without arms and with no immediate prospect of getting arms, who must remain for months consumers of our scanty supplies of provisions, without ability to render service, while their labor would be most valuable in their farms and workshops, there might be the semblance of a plea of necessity for forcing the *State officers* to leave their commands, with the homes of their people unprotected, and go into camps of instruction, under Confederate officers, often much more ignorant than themselves of military science or training. I must, therefore, adhere to my position and maintain the integrity of the State Government in its Executive, Legislative, Judicial and Military Departments, as long as I can command sufficient force to prevent it from being disbanded, and its people reduced to a state of provincial dependence upon the Central power.

If I have used strong language in any part of this letter, I beg you to attribute it only to my zeal in the advocacy of principles and a cause which I consider no less than the cause of constitutional liberty, imperiled by the erroneous views and practice of those placed upon the watch-tower as its constant guardians.

In conclusion, I beg to assure you that I fully appreciate your expressions of personal kindness, and reciprocate them in my feelings towards you to the fullest extent.

I know the vast responsibilities resting upon you, and would never willingly add unnecessarily to their weight, or in any way embarrass you in the discharge of your important duties.—While I cannot agree with you in opinion upon the grave question under discussion, I beg you to command me at all times when I can do you a personal service, or when I can, without a violation of the constitutional obligations resting upon me, do any service to the great cause in which we are all so vitally interested.

Hoping that a kind Providence may give you wisdom so to conduct the affairs of our young Confederacy as may result in the early achievement of our Independence, and redound to the ultimate prosperity and happiness of our whole people.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH E. BROWN.

P. S.—Since the above letter was written I see, somewhat to my surprise, that you have thought proper to publish *part* of our unfinished correspondence.

In reply to my first letter you simply stated on the point in question that the constitutionality of the Act was derivable from that paragraph in the *Constitution* which gives Congress the power to raise and support armies. I replied to that letter with no portion of your argument but the simple statement of your position before me. You then, with the aid of your Cabinet, replied to my second letter, giving the argument by which you



attempt to sustain your position, and without allowing time for your letter to reach me, and a reply to be sent, you publish my second letter and your reply, which is your first argument of the question. I find these two letters not only in the newspapers but also in pamphlet form, I presume by your order for general circulation.

While I cannot suppose that your sense of duty and propriety would permit you to publish part of an unfinished correspondence for the purpose of forestalling public opinion, I must conclude that your course is not the usual one in such cases. As the correspondence was an official one upon a grave constitutional question, I had supposed it would be given to the country through Congress and the Legislature of the State.

But as you have commenced the publication in this hasty and as I think informal manner, you will admit that I have no other alternative but to continue it. I must, therefore, request as an act of justice that all newspapers which have published part of the correspondence, insert this reply.

J. E. B.





## APPENDIX C.

## ORIGINAL COMMUNICATION OF MRS. MARY WILLIAMS, TO THE COLUMBUS (GA.) TIMES, SUGGESTING THE DECORATION DAY CUSTOM.

COLUMBUS, GA., March 12, 1866.

*Messrs. Editors:*—The ladies are now and have been for several days engaged in the sad but pleasant duty of ornamenting and improving that portion of the city cemetery sacred to the memory of our gallant Confederate dead, but we feel it is an unfinished work unless a day be set apart annually for its especial attention. We cannot raise monumental shafts and inscribe thereon their many deeds of heroism, but we can keep alive the memory of the debt we owe them, by dedicating at least one day in each year to embellishing their humble graves with flowers. Therefore we beg the assistance of the press and the ladies throughout the South to aid us in the effort to set apart a certain day to be observed, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and be handed down through time as a religious custom of the South, to wreath the graves of our martyred dead with flowers; and we propose the 26th day of April as the day. Let every city, town and village join in the pleasant duty. Let all alike be remembered, from the heroes of Manassas to those who expired amid the death throes of our hallowed cause. We'll crown alike the honored resting places of the immortal Jackson in Virginia, Johnston at Shiloh, Cleburne in Tennessee, and the host of gallant privates who adorned our ranks. All did their duty, and to all we owe our gratitude. Let the soldiers' graves, for that day at least, be the Southern Mecca to whose shrine her sorrowing women like pilgrims, may annually bring their grateful hearts and floral offerings. And when we remember the thousands who were buried "with their martial cloaks around them," without christian ceremony of interment, we would invoke the aid of the most thrilling eloquence throughout the land to inaugurate this custom, by delivering on the appointed day this year, a eulogy on the unburied dead of our glorious Southern army. They died for their country. Whether their country had or had not the right to demand the sacrifice is no longer a question for discussion. We leave that for nations to decide in the future. That it was demanded—that they fought nobly, and fell holy sacrifices upon their country's altar, and are entitled to their country's gratitude, none will deny.

The proud banner under which they rallied in defense of the holiest and noblest cause for which heroes fought, or trusting woman prayed, has been furled forever. The country for which they suffered and died, has now no name or place among the nations of the earth. Legislative enactments may not be made to do honor to their memories, but the veriest radical that ever traced his genealogy back to the deck of the May Flower, could not refuse us the simple privilege of paying honor to those who died defending the life, honor and happiness of the Southern women.



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